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# SMALL CATECHISM

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# SMALL CATECHISM

Stacks

## A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use

A Jubilee Offering

*By*

M. REU

*Professor at Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa*

With Eighteen Plates

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317

has been abridged in certain chapters and expanded in others. Thus the thirteenth chapter was abbreviated because American readers would scarcely be interested in the details of the present use of the Catechism in individual church circles of Germany. The materials from the sources of medieval religious instruction (pp. 5-6), from the Visitation (p. 4), from the Latin translations of Luther's Catechism (pp. 56-60), from the explanations of the Catechism of the 16th and 17th centuries (pp. 69-86 and 207-224), and from the Scandinavian literature (pp. 202-207), and from the English translations of the Small Catechism (pp. 288-292) are new in this edition, even as the ninth chapter has been considerably lengthened. Moreover there are many additions and improvements of a minor nature (compare especially pp. 16-17). Likewise the discussion concerning the true interpretation of the First Chief Part and of the question concerning the systematization of the Catechism (pp. 377-383) is written for the first time for the English edition. The latter should have been in the German edition also and was there justly missed.

I was in doubt whether I should abbreviate chapters eleven and fourteen for this edition. At first blush the reader of these chapters might be inclined to think they go a bit too far into questions which are hotly debated only in Germany. But that is not true. These questions are burning ones in the Scandinavian countries also, and we have to deal with them in this country too, even if with certain variations, In Germany they have, however, been gone into with great thoroughness. How true the old saying is here also: We study the problems of other lands in order to understand and solve our own so much the better.

The work of preparing this English edition for the press was largely in the hands of my friend Pastor John C. Mattes, D.D., of Scranton, Pa. He revised the sections that I had written in English, as well as the work of other translators, with great skill and care. For this arduous task I give him

my sincere thanks. Prof. Hans Groth, Ph.D., of Seattle, Wash., a former pupil of mine, translated the lengthy and difficult chapters six, thirteen, and fourteen. I wish to thank him for his kind and excellent assistance. I am indebted also to Prof. G. Ottersberg of Waverly, Iowa, for preparing the indexes, and to Prof. L. Fuerbringer, D.D., of St. Louis, Mo., for valuable information on the catechisms used in his communion. The assistance of my wife enabled me to make use of the Scandinavian literature. Grateful acknowledgement is finally made to the Wartburg Pub. House and to the manager, Pastor S. W. Fuchs, whose patience was sorely tried by a number of annoying incidents, for sparing neither labor nor material in bringing out this contribution to the Jubilee of Luther's Small Catechism.

M. Reu.

Wartburg Seminary,
Dubuque, Iowa,
April 23, 1929.

# Contents


Page

Preface . . . . . v

List of Illustrations . . . . . xi

Key to Abbreviations and Explanation of Terms . . . . . xv

Chapter

1. The Need for a Catechism . . . . . 1
2. The Origin of Luther's Small Catechism . . . . . 7
3. The Editions of Luther's Small Catechism till 1546 . . 25
4. The Translations of Luther's Small Catechism between 1529 and 1600 . . . . . 46
5. The Expositions of Luther's Small Catechism Between 1530 and 1600 and Its Reception among the Confessional Writings . . . . . 61
6. The Triumph of Luther's Small Catechism Throughout Europe during the 16th Century . . . . . 87
7. The Significance of Luther's Small Catechism . . . 138
8. How Luther's Catechism Was Used in the 16th Century 155
9. Luther's Catechism in the Period of Orthodoxy and Pietism . . . . . 173
10. Luther's Catechism in the Period of Rationalism . . . 225
11. Luther's Catechism since the Renewal of Faith . . . 249
12. Luther's Catechism in the United States . . . . . 275
13. Luther's Catechism throughout the World . . . . . 294
14. Luther's Catechism at the Present Time . . . . . 340

Bibliography . . . . . 395

Indexes . . . . . 403

# List of Illustrations


PLATE 1: The only existing copy of the chart edition. It was found pasted on the inside of an old book cover in the University Library in Leipzig (*Theol. Studien u. Kritiken 1898,* 522 ff.). Facsimile, full size (37x28 cm), in O. Albrecht, *Der Kl. Kat. D. M. Luthers nach der Ausgabe v. 1536, Halle a. S. 1905.* We do not know in what month in 1529 this Low German Wittenberg chart edition was printed; cf. pp. 21-46.

PLATE 2: Title page of the first Low German book edition which was probably printed in April, 1529, in Hamburg at Bugenhagen's request; cf. pp. 21-46. The copy in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Hamburg is defective. A complete copy is found in Weimar.

PLATE 3: Title page of the first edition of Luther's Large Catechism, published April, 1529, by Georg Rhau, Wittenberg; cf. pp. 21-22. Original copy in Berlin.

PLATE 4: Title page of the Erfurt reprint of the lost Wittenberg original edition (May, 1529), published by Conrad Treffer in Erfurt, 1529; cf. pp. 26-28. Original in the University Library at Leipzig.

PLATE 5: Title page of the first edition of the second Latin translation, prepared by Johann Sauermann and printed in Sept., 1529; cf. pp. 50-52. This is the Latin translation that was most widely used in Germany. Original in the *Gymnasialbibliothek* in Gotha.

PLATE 6: Title page of the famous High German Wittenberg edition of 1531, which later became the authoritative text; cf. pp. 31-32. While the Hamburg Low German edition as well as the three reprints of the lost original Wittenberg edition were octavo-volumes, this, as well as the defective Wittenberg edition of the thirteenth of June, were reprinted in sextodecimo. The only known copy is in the Bodleiana in Oxford, a photostatic copy of which is in Berlin.

PLATE 7: Two pages of the polyglot edition of the Catechism of Johann Clajus of 1572. This edition was frequently reprinted; cf. pp. 52-53. A copy is in my library.

## Key to Abbreviations and Explanation of Terms

Albrecht, *L's Katechismen*=Luther's Catechisms by D. O. Albrecht in the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works (30, 1), Weimar, 1910.

Albrecht, *Luthers Katechismen=Luthers Katechismen von D. O. Albrecht, Leipzig, 1915 (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 121-122).*

Cohrs=*Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion, Berlin 1900 ff.*

H R E=*Haucks Realenzyklopädie,* 3rd edition.

Reu or only I, 1, 475 etc.=M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts im evang. Deutschland zwischen 1530 und 1600, Gütersloh, 1904-1927.*

Sehling=*Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts von Dr. E. Sehling, Leipzig 1902 ff.*

Vormbaum=R. Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen, Gütersloh, 1860 ff.*

W or W A=The Weimar Edition of Luther's Works.

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*Arbeitsschule*=a common public school which bases all education upon the principle of self-activity of the pupil and leaves to the teacher only the function of guiding the pupil's self-activity.

*Gemeinschaftsschule* is another term for *Simultanschule.*

*Lernschule*=a common public school in which the pupils are not only trained to self-activity, but are also required to learn and memorize what is assigned by the teacher.

*Simultanschule*=a common public school of interconfessional character, giving interconfessional religious instruction.

*Volksschule*=a common public school corresponding to the eight grades of our public school; it is termed *Christliche Volksschule* because it gives religious instruction and training in accordance with the principles of the Christian Church; it is termed *Konfessionelle Volksschule* because its religious instruction has the stamp of the Roman Catholic, or Protestant, or Lutheran Church, or of the Jewish Synagogue; it is termed *Simultanschule* when it is interconfessional. The counterpart of the *Christliche Volksschule* (confessional or interconfessional) is the *Weltliche Schule,* that is, the common public school which excludes all religious instruction and—as a rule—is hostile to religious principles or at least to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Church.

# 1. The Need for a Catechism

THE PICTURE of religious instruction during the Middle Ages, and especially at the dawn of the Reformation, is often painted in very dark colors, as though there had been practically no religious instruction of the young in that period. This is not true to the facts as we know them today.

By a threefold method the Medieval Church tried to instruct and train her youth. (1) **Domestic Catechization.** Parents and sponsors were strongly urged to instruct their children. In one of the sermons of Berthold of Ratisbon (died 1272) we read: "When the child is seven years old, his sponsors shall teach him the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; that is their duty; they are his spiritual parents. They shall say to his parents: 'Friends, you must teach my godchild the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; else he shall come to me and I will teach him.' And if he also learns the Ave Maria, so much the better." Neglect of this duty is often found among the sins enumerated in the customary formulae of confession used in that period. The 13th century and still more the 14th produced an abundance of ascetic tracts and books which helped to revive the domestic catechization. The more important are *La Somme le Roi* by Laurentius Gallus (1279), *Eyn speyghel des christen gelouben* by Ludolf of Goettingen (1472), *Der Seele Trost,* author unknown (before 1472), *Die Hymmelstrass* by Stephan Lanzkranna (1484), *Di dottrina cristiana* (13th century), *Instructions of the Synod of Toledo* (1323), and especially John Gerson's *Opusculum tripartitum de praeceptis decalogi, de confessione, et de arte moriendi* (about 1412). The last three works were designed for children; all

of them were widely circulated, frequently copied and reprinted, and translated into various languages.

(2) The **Confessional.** The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) required all children, from their seventh year on, to confess at least once a year and to commune on Easter Sunday; thus the priests were enabled to determine both the amount and the kind of instruction which the children had received at home, and frequently they were impressed with the duty of supplementing the children's information. The technical term applied to these confessional (as well as baptismal) questions concerning the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., was **catechismus;** we observe that this word still retained its original significance of oral teaching, but that it acquired the significance of interrogative instruction, that is to say, teaching in the form of questions and answers. In England, France, and Germany councils sometimes also decreed that the clergy should teach the young the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The Ave Maria is mentioned in this connection with increasing frequency as mariolatry became more popular, i. e., from the thirteenth century on. The parents were exhorted to bring their children to church regularly every Sunday for the purpose of instruction. In order to equip the clergy for this work of teaching, special manuals, popular as well as technical, were prepared. We mention: *Expositio symboli apostolorum* by Thomas Aquinas (1274), *Speculum ecclesiae* by Edmund of Canterbury (1240), *Fundamentum aeternae felicitatis* by an unknown author (about 1470), and *Beichtbuechlein* by John Wolff (1468). In certain localities, e. g., at Torgau, Basel, and Bamberg, the priests were even commanded to read, from the pulpit or from the *"ambo,"* the principal parts of instruction every Sunday. Ulrich Surgant's widely circulated *Manuale curatorum* (Basel, 1502) contains the form in which these parts were read to the congregation. Frequently the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and—especially in the fifteenth cen-

tury—the Ten Commandments, and other parts were written or printed on paper or cardboard and hung on the walls of churches, schools, or hospitals. Knowledge of this material was also spread by catechetical sermons which we occasionally encounter toward the end of the Middle Ages.

(3) The **Schools.** Religious instruction was also imparted in the Latin schools which were established in the cities after the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the convent schools. In the lower classes the pupils had to memorize the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ave Maria, now and then also the Benedicite (grace before meat) and Gratias (thanks after meat) and the Confiteor, more rarely the Ten Commandments and a few liturgical formulas and hymns; in the upper classes some of these parts were learned in Greek. The same is true of the Vernacular schools for reading and writing which, after the beginning of the fifteenth century, were established under the influence of the Hanse and of the Brethren of the Common Life throughout Germany, even in some villages, except that here these subjects were naturally taught in the vernacular. One of the summaries of instruction for Latin schools has come down to our times, viz., the *Catechyzon* by John Colet of London (1510). We also name two works which were intended especially for the instruction of children in the home (perhaps also for school use): *A B C des simples gens* by John Gerson (d. 1429) and the Low German *Tafel des christlichen Lebens* by an unknown author (latter part of the fifteenth century).

If, however, we conclude from these facts that the Medieval Church did justice to her task of teaching or "ushered in a golden period of education" (so J. Janssen), we should commit a grievous error. The domestic catechization indeed existed, but in most places it was woefully deficient. The Church Visitations in Saxony during 1528 and 1529 disclosed the sad fact that large numbers of adults knew neither Deca-

logue nor Creed nor Lord's Prayer. What kind of instruction would such parents impart to their children? True, the catechism was read in some localities by the priest after the sermon, but that the rule was more frequently violated than observed appears from the prevalence of synodical decrees directing it. The records of visitations also contain abundant and unambiguous evidence of the wide-spread lack of such reading. Besides, this reading was intended primarily for the adults, not for children. True, the priest was expected by means of the confessional to exercise control over domestic instruction and if necessary to supplement it; but how largely this order must have passed unnoticed appears when we read, e. g., in the official records of church visitations that a priest who applied for a position did not know the Ten Commandments and for six years had not looked into a book.

We mention only a few facts: The priest of Oberladlau in Saxony did not celebrate Mass for three years nor did he administer the Sacrament. The peasants at Oberwierau refused to pay their church-dues because the priest did not read Mass. In the parish of Fuchshain, consisting of ten villages, there had been no preaching for a long time. At Seubtendorf in the principality of Reuss there was even as late as 1534 a priest who had no Bible because it had been destroyed by fire twenty-six years before. The priest at Elsnig could hardly pray the Paternoster and the Creed. (Burkhardt, *Geschichte der saechsischen Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen von* 1524 *bis* 1545, *Leipzig* 1879, pp. 177. 39, 49). In the parish of Dueben there were 110 families but often not more than three persons came to the service. At Sueptiz and Muckrohna the church had been selected to store the Whitsuntide ale (*Pfingstbier*). At Werche the peasants could not recite the Paternoster nor the Commandments nor the Creed. At Zinna the peasants refused to learn the Paternoster because of "its length." At Holzdorf and Dubro the visitors had to confess that the people ought to be chased out of the land on account of their persistent wickedness (Burkhardt, pp. 38f.).

In the Latin schools, it is true, the catechism was incorporated into the text books; but this was done chiefly in order to preserve a connecting link between the home with its vernacu-

lar and the school with its Latin speech, and not for the purpose of religious instruction. Moreover, with a few notable exceptions, the learning process in these schools consisted in mechanical memorizing. True, numerous expositions of catechetical material and Biblical picture-books had been published; but their cost was so high and the number of illiterates so large that they affected only very limited circles. Besides, in point of contents, this whole literature was by no means evangelical (a few real gems excepted) but largely legendary, apocryphal, and even anti-biblical. Memory material was monstrously increased; it made hearing confession a much easier task for the priest. Besides the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the catalogue of mortal sins, and the Ave Maria, the young had to memorize the seven charisms, the seven cardinal virtues, the seven sacraments, the seven works of mercy, the eight Beatitudes, the twelve fruits of the Spirit, the Ten Commandments of God, the crying sins, the alien sins, the five senses etc. As the material increased, the possibility of inner appropriation decreased; the only way to arrive at mastery over the wealth of subject matter was mechanical memorizing with the aid of mnemonic verses or rhymes.

Geffken in his *Bilderkatechismus des* 15. *Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1855) has reprinted some of the "versus memoriales" (pp. 187-196). From his work the following are taken.

*Quinque sensus.*

Sensibus in quinis tu primo confitearis,
Visus, auditus, gustus, tactus, odoratus.

*VII peccata mortalia.*

Monstrat saligia quae sunt mortalia septem,
Superbia, auaricia, luxuria, ira, gula, invidia, accidia.

*VI opera misericordiae.*

Visito, cibo, tego, redimo, colligo, condo,
Corrigo, parco, precor, doceo, fero, consulo, solor.

*VII sacramenta.*

Ordo, coniugium, fons, confirmatio, panis,
Unctio postrema, confessio sunt sacramenta.

*VII dona spiritus sancti.*
Consilium sapiens, timor, scientia, robur,
Ac intellectus, pietas sunt pneumatis almi.

*VIII beatitudines.*
Pauper, mitis, lugens, miserensque,
Justitiam peto, cor mundum, pax prosequatur.

*IX aliena peccata.*
Jussio, consilium, consensus, palpo, recursus,
Participans, mutus, non obstans, non manifestans.

*Peccata in spiritum sanctum.*
Invidus, repugnans, desperans impaenitensque,
Praesumptuosus, obstinatus spiritus sant.

*Peccata in coelum clamantia.*
Clamitat in coelum vox sanguinis, vox Sodomorum,
Vox oppressorum, merces detenta laborum.

*Decem praecepta.*
Unum crede deum, nec vane jura per ipsum,
Sabbata sanctifices, habeas in honore parentes,
Non sis occisor, fur, moechus, testis iniquus,
Alterius nuptam, nec rem cupias alienam.

So, what the Church needed, and needed very badly, was a new spirit that would make diligent and faithful use of its various educational agencies and a catechism that would contain not only the traditional parts well sifted but also provide a biblical, evangelical explanation. And this is what Luther gave the Church in his Small Catechism.

# 2. The Origin of Luther's Small Catechism

LUTHER'S Small Catechism grew out of his pastoral use of catechetical materials and was the result of thirteen years of strenuous labor.

When in the summer of 1516 Luther began to supply the pulpit of Simon Heinz at Wittenberg, he preached on the Ten Commandments, following the example of medieval preachers. Having finished this series in February, 1517, he preached during Lent 1517, a series of sermons on the Lord's Prayer. In the same year he wrote a very brief exposition of the Ten Commandments to help his parishioners examine and prepare themselves for confession (cf. 1 Cor. 11:28). It is quite significant that he at once began to sift the material by calling attention to the fact that all customary catalogues of sins and vices are really superfluous because they are virtually contained in the Decalogue. It is true, he still enumerates the individual sins and virtues in the form of a *tabula confessionis*, but he also points out that all sins flow from one source, selfishness, and all virtues from the love of God and our fellowman. In 1518 Luther had this explanation of the Ten Commandments printed in German and Latin under the title *Kurze Erklaerung der 10 Gebote*. Its purpose as an aid in confession suggested the publication in the form of charts or placards rather than in book-form. In the same year he also revised for publication his sermons of 1516-17 on the Decalogue and published them under the title *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo*. Publication of the simple but edifying sermons of 1517 on the Lord's Prayer followed in 1519; the title was *Auslegung des Vater unsers fuer die einfaeltigen Laien*. Two additional tracts

on the Lord's Prayer were printed in the same year, *Eine kurze Form das Paternoster zu verstehen und zu beten,* and the briefer *Auslegung des Vaterunsers fuer sich und hinter sich,* both of them the result of practical labors. In evening hours Luther had explained these catechism parts *"pueris et rudibus."* His explanation of the Decalogue received unstinted praise; it was declared that "he had taken the veil away from the face of Moses." The explanation of the Lord's prayer was acclaimed even more highly. Beatus Rhenanus the humanist wrote to Zwingli that the treatise should be spread throughout Switzerland in every city, hamlet, and village, yes, it should find a place in every home. And a book censor of Venice wrote: "Blessed are the hands which wrote this; blessed the eyes that read it; blessed the hearts that believe the book and so earnestly call upon God."

In 1520 Luther collected the results of his catechetical labors and added a third part, the explanation of the Creed. He published this in the form of a confessional mirror, as a treatise for the common people, bearing the title *Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote; eine kurze Form des Glaubens; eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers.* Especially the new part, the explanation of the Creed, is a truly classical model of vigorous diction and evangelical perception (English translation in: Works of Martin Luther, vol. II., Philadelphia 1915, pp. 351-386). This "Short Form" is an important landmark in Luther's catechetical labors; it is the precursor of the Small Catechism. Three points deserve special mention: (1) The whole mass of auxiliary material handed down from the last centuries of the Middle Ages is swept aside; Luther says: "God so ordered it that the ordinary Christian who is unable to read the whole Bible should be taught the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, for these three parts comprehend all the essentials of Christian knowledge." (2) Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer had, indeed, been grouped in this order before

## Wo ein Husvader synem gesynde schal leren/ sick des Morgens vnde Auendes tho segende.

Des Morgens wenn du vth dem bedde springest/ so schalstu dy segenen mit dem hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/ de Vader/ de Sönc/ vnde de Hillige geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/ den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wyltu/ so machstu dyth bedeken darthó spreken.

Jck dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/ dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/ dat du my desse nacht auer vor allem schaden vnde vare behodt vnde bewaret hefft/ Vnde bidde dy/ Du willest my dessen dach auer ock bewaren/ vor sünden vnde allem öuel/ dat dy alle myn dönt vnde leuent behage/ Wente ick beuele/ my/ myn liff vnde seele/ vnde alle dinck/ ynn dyne hende/ Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/ dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde denne mit frowden tho dynem arbeide geghan/ Vnde wór ein lebe gesungen/ alse de Tein bade/ edder wat dyne anda ht gifft.

Des Auendes wenn du tho bedde gheist/ so schalstu dy segenen mit dem Hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/ de Vädet/ de Söne/ vnde de [illegible] geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/ den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wultu/ so machstu dyth bedeken darthó spreken.

Jck dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/ dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/ dat du my dessen dach auer gnedichliken behodt vnde bewaret hefft/ Vnde bidde dy/ Du willest my vorgeuen/ alle myne sünde/ wor ick vnrecht gedan hebbe/ vnde my desse nacht auer ock gnedichliken bewaren/ Wente ick beuele/ my/ myn liff vnde seele/ vnde alle dinck/ in dyne hende/ Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/ dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde deine flucks vnde frölick geslapen.

Mart. Luther.

Gedruckt tho Wittemberch/ dorch Nickel Schirlentz.
M. D. XXIX.

BIBL. VNIVERS. LIPS.

PLATE ONE: The only existing copy of the chart edition of 1529.

Luther's time in a number of instances but always more or less accidentally. Luther, however, purposely arranged the material in this way, stating as his reason that these three parts so correlated reflect the way of salvation. "Three things," he says, "a man must needs know in order to be saved. First, he must know what to do and what not to do. Secondly, when he recognizes that by his own power he cannot do what he should, nor leave undone what he should not do, he must learn where to receive, seek and find such power and strength. Thirdly, he must know how to seek and obtain it. Just as a sick man must know first of all what his sickness is and what he may do and what he may not do. Next he must find where the remedy is which may cure him so that he can do what any healthy person does. Fourthly, he must desire such remedy and seek and fetch it or have it brought to him. Accordingly the Commandments teach man to know his sickness so that he may see what he can do and what he cannot do, and to acknowledge himself as a sinner and a wicked man. After that the Creed teaches him where to find the remedy that helps him to become godly and to keep the Commandments; it shows him God and His mercy, revealed and offered in Christ. Fifthly, the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to seek, fetch, and obtain such mercy, namely through proper humble confident prayer; thus it shall be granted him, and he shall be saved through the fulfillment of God's Commandments." (3) Instead of adhering to the traditional division of the Creed into twelve parts, Luther divided it into three parts with conscious reference to the saving deeds of the three persons of the Trinity. — During the following decade the various catechetical helps appearing in Germany drew much material from this Short Form of 1520. But its strong influence was not limited to Germany; we shall see later how it also made its influence felt in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, England, and France.

Also after 1520, catechetical labors occupied Luther's at-

tention time and again. In 1522 he preached on the trilogy (Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer) and, in order to suppress mariolatry, also on the Ave Maria. By again preaching on the trilogy in 1523 he introduced the custom of yearly catechism sermons. From 1524-27 he did not deliver them himself because in the fall of 1523 Bugenhagen became citypastor at Wittenberg, and he and his collaborers (especially S. Froeschel) had to attend to this duty. The sermons delivered by Bugenhagen in 1525 are still extant. We even hear that in those years it became a custom at Wittenberg to preach annually four series of eight catechetical sermons "to instruct the young and common people." They were delivered during two weeks of each quarter, in addition to a regular sermon on catechetical material preached at the Sunday matin service. In 1522 Luther learned to know the German edition of the "Questions for Children," the catechism of the Bohemian Brethren (Nuernberg 1522 and Erfurt 1522). Perhaps this work exerted some influence upon Luther's catechetical activity but it is wrong to assume that the form of questions and answers used by Luther in his Small Catechism had been suggested to him by the Bohemian catechism. The dialogue form of textbooks was common to the Humanists, and even religious textbooks of the Middle Ages had made use of it (compare, e. g., Chr. Hegendorf, *Dialogi pueriles,* Nuernberg 1520, and *Fundamentum aeternae felicitatis,* Col., 1498, Lips. 1499, Col. 1501, 1503, Col. 1506, 1509) and long before Alcuin's (d. 804) explanation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer had appeared in the form of questions and answers. In the summer of 1522 the Short Form of 1520 was published as the *Booklet of Prayers,* so named because, besides the Short Form (and the explanation of the Ave Maria and Paul's Epistle to Titus), it also contained certain prayers (Psalm 12, 67, 51, 103, 20, 79, 25, 10). In this form the Short Form went through many editions and met the requirements of school and home much

more effectively than the numerous editions and revisions of the Questions for Children just mentioned. As a new feature we find in 1523 the *Five Questions concerning the Lord's Supper* taken from a sermon by Luther on the Holy Communion. These questions were propounded to prospective communicants who, after Easter, 1523, were examined as to their knowledge of the nature and meaning of the Lord's Supper.

Early in 1524 the Reformer issued his proclamation *To the Councilors of all Cities in the German Empire on the Establishment and Maintenance of Christian Schools,* calling on all Germany, with flaming words, to attend to the duty of Christian training. "When the Turk threatens," he says, "or when you are in danger of war or in perils of water, you all know full well what to do; you decide how much money a city shall spend on muskets, roads, and dams. Much money has been squandered on indulgences, masses, pilgrimages, and the like. Oh, that but a part of this money might be spent in the training of the children! If you give one guilder for the war against the Turk, you would not do too much by giving a hundred for the proper training of one single boy." While chiefly interested at that time in the maintenance of the Latin schools Luther hints at the building up of a Christian public school system, at least in the cities, when he makes the demand that boys should be given a minimum of two hours of daily instruction and girls one hour. While the Gospel and the languages should be the principal subjects of the Latin school, Luther could not imagine a common school without instruction in the traditional parts of the catechism.

More and more the Reformer was impressed with the necessity of publishing in book form a brief exposition of the chief parts, in order to facilitate the Christian instruction of the young and immature. The Booklet of Prayers, though used occasionally in this way and recommended as late as 1526 by Luther himself for this purpose, had not been written

specifically with this aim in mind and it was more suitable for adults. In letters to his friend Nicholas Hausmann of Zwickau who had strongly emphasized the duty of Christian training of the young in two official opinions (1523 and 1525), Luther discussed this subject. Too much occupied with other matters to do the work himself, he commissioned Justus Jonas and Agricola in February, 1525, with the preparation of a *"catechismus puerorum,"* and this was the first time that the word catechism, which up to this time had always signified oral instruction was applied to a **book.** When this project came to naught, Luther decided to write a catechism himself, even though several catechisms had already been issued by others. Before he was able to carry out this plan, however, the *Booklet for Laymen and Children* appeared, in the fall of 1525. If this booklet was composed by Bugenhagen, which is quite probable, Luther must have been aware of its composition; in fact, it presents in part his explanations (especially the explanation of the Creed and—briefly—the Lord's Prayer taken from the Short form of 1520) and in other ways resembles his thoughts. It is particularly noteworthy, because, in the first part of the *Layman's Bible* proper, which contains the catechism text without explanation, Baptism and Communion appear for the first time as catechetical parts beside the trilogy; the text of the catechism is largely couched in the wording with which we are familiar, and several prayers are added which we find later in Luther's Small Catechism. The second part contains a paragraph concerning Confession.

In the year 1526 Luther issued the *German Mass,* another important landmark in his catechetical labors. Far and wide in evangelical lands it served as a model for divine worship. It awakened men's consciences also to the need of religious instruction with words like these: "On in the name of God! What we need most in our German worship is a plain, simple, clear and succinct catechism (i. e. oral instruction)." As sub-

ject matter he had in mind the trilogy. "I do not know how to make such instruction better or simpler; it is best to leave it as it was established at the beginning of the Church and has remained ever since, and to teach these three parts: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer." The father shall diligently teach these parts to his children and servants in the **home.** But such instruction is also to be part and parcel of the divine **service:** "Those lessons shall be read from the pulpit at stated seasons, or daily, according to circumstances, and in homes they shall be read or recited to the children in the morning and in the evening." In addition he requires that on Mondays and Tuesdays at the matin service a German lesson (i. e. a catechetical **sermon**) shall be given concerning Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and Communion. "in order that these two days may serve to maintain and to explain the catechism." Furthermore it is noteworthy that Luther seriously insists that the children really **learn to understand the catechetical parts,** and that he shows by practical examples how one should teach a child. "Thus," he says, "one should ask the children: What do you pray? Answer: The Lord's Prayer. What does it mean that you say: 'Our Father in heaven'? Answer: That God is not an earthly, but a heavenly Father who would make us rich and happy in heaven. What does it mean: 'Hallowed be thy name'? Answer: That we should honor and regard God's name, so that it may not be profaned. How is it disgraced and profaned? Answer: When we, who would be children of God, lead evil lives, and teach and live wrongly. Further also, what does God's kingdom mean, how does it come, what does God's will, daily bread, etc. mean. Similarly throughout the Creed: What do you believe? Answer: I believe in God the Father. Then piecemeal, if time permits. Thus: What does it mean to believe in God the Father Almighty? Answer: It means that the heart completely trusts him and confidently looks to him for all grace, favor, help, and

comfort, in time and eternity. What does it mean to believe in Jesus Christ, His Son? Answer: It means that the heart believes we would be eternally lost if Christ had no died for us etc. Likewise in the Ten Commandments one must ask, what the first, second, third and those following mean. Such questions can be taken from the Booklet of Prayers, in which the Trilogy is explained, or each one can follow his own method so that finally the whole sum of Christian knowledge is comprehended in two parts, as in two small bags, which are faith and love. The bag of faith has two pockets. In the one is found the fact, that through Adam's fall we are all corrupted and condemned sinners, Rom. 5; Ps. 51. In the other, that we are all redeemed through Jesus Christ from this sinful, corrupt, and condemned condition, Rom. 3; John 3. The bag of love also has two pockets. The one holds those truths, that we are to serve everyone and do good, just as Christ did for us, Rom. 13. The other, that we should gladly suffer and patiently bear all sorts of evil" (*Weimar Edition* 19, 76-77). Luther recalls the important pedagogical principle of Chrysostom and Augustine: "Christ when he came to train men, had to become man; if we are to train children, we must become children with them." Herewith a new educational aim was established. Luther also demands that parents teach their children a number of **Bible passages** and unfold to them their meaning. Finally, he suggests the preaching of catechetical sermons on Baptism and Communion, such as Bugenhagen had preached since 1525 as part of the series mentioned above. Luther himself preached a sermon on Communion annually, from 1523-1528,—not as part of the regular series of catechetical sermons, for those were preached by Bugenhagen, but in his "large sermons of the whole year"—and one on Baptism each year from 1526 to 1528. Thus it is seen how the addition of a Fourth and Fifth Part to the Catechism is gradually established. Since 1526 not only Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer (or Lord's

Prayer, Creed, and Decalogue) were regularly read to the people after the sermon, but also the *Verba Baptismi* and the *Verba Testamenti.* This can be learned from the Wittenberg book (?) of 1526: "What is to be read to the people after the sermon." The controversies with the Enthusiasts and Sacramentarians, the evident lack of knowledge on the part of the people, the clear understanding that there is no salutary use of the Sacrament for the unprepared; all these may have caused Luther to follow the example of the Ancient Church and, in some measure, that of the Middle Ages (e. g. Laurentius Gallus: 1. Decalogue; 2. Creed; 3. Seven Sacraments), and add to the "catechism" the instruction concerning Baptism and Lord's Supper.

The Short Form and, still more, the German Mass inspired a considerable number of Evangelicals to write catechetical text-books for the youth. The total number of catechisms issued between 1522 and 1529 is about thirty, and some of them were published in many editions. Ferd. Cohrs has republished most of them. Besides the "Booklet of Prayer" and the "Booklet for Laity and Children" the most important are the books of Capito, Lachmann or Graeter, Agricola, Sam, Althamer, and Brenz. Althamer's book was the first to bear the name "catechism" in its title; and Brenz's is worthy of notice because it contained two graded sets of questions prepared respectively for younger and older children and because it begins with Baptism and by means of appropriate questions strives to unite the several parts of the catechism into a system. Whether Luther knew of all these attempts and how he regarded them we do not know. At any rate, he did not abandon his plan of composing a catechism of his own.

In 1527 Luther preached once more on the Ten Commandments, while Melanchthon, in collaboration with him, wrote the *Instruction for Visitors* which appeared in print the following year. The institutions for the training of the common

people and the young which so far had been introduced locally, were now extended to the whole of Saxon territory, and, with the necessary limitations, even to the villages. It is enjoined that servants and young people attend *church* on Sunday afternoons in order to be taught the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, subsequently also Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and that every catechetical sermon end with a recitation of the trilogy. In cities and market towns where day schools existed, Saturday or Wednesday was to be devoted exclusively to religious instruction. Here some of the easier Psalms were to be committed to memory, and the catechetical parts were to be explained with the aid of Bible stories. In the villages, according to visitation records, the verger (*Kuester*) was directed to teach the children the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and also the more important German hymns. For the time being this was the limit of the attainable; erection of regular village schools was not to be thought of. Gradually knowledge of the trilogy and the words of institution of Baptism and Communion had come to be regarded as a condition for admission to the Lord's Supper. Thereby the way was prepared for a new educational goal, admission to Holy Communion, and the compulsory instruction in the catechism is the root out of which compulsory school attendance gradually developed.

When in 1528 Bugenhagen had been called to Brunswick to organize its church and schools, Luther stepped into the breach and preached not only the regular Sunday sermons but also delivered two series of catechetical sermons during the Ember weeks of May and September, as had become customary at Wittenberg since 1523 and had again been enjoined by the Instruction for Visitors. In October or November, it seems, Luther began to write the catechism promised long before, the catechism *pro pueris et rudibus,* or the *catechismus praedicatus pro rudibus et simplicibus* (for

the crude heathen, the uneducated masses), that is, the work that was later called the **Large Catechism.** The sermons delivered in May and September served as a basis. As soon as he had written a number of pages the printer began his work. At the end of November Luther personally took part in the Visitation. During December, while still under the impression made upon him by the Visitation, he delivered his third series of catechetical sermons and resolved to push the work on the catechism as much as possible. According to a letter of January 15, 1529, he was at that time still engaged in this work, and on January 20 Roerer, the proof-reader, expressed the hope that it would soon be on the market. But during the preparation of this larger catechism, Luther evidently concluded that this work would be too elaborate for the "crude heathen" and quickly resolved also to write a brief catechism *pro pueris et familia.* This work, or rather the first three parts, were printed in the first week of 1529 and published in the form of charts. The time of publication is fixed definitely by the Schoenewalde visitation records (*E. Sehling,* I. 1 p. 667). In the rules laid down for this city by the visitors, among them Luther, the stipulation is found that on Sunday afternoons "the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer are to be recited for the people and, after that to be explained in a very simple manner **as shown by the published chart."** Now these rules could not have been promulgated earlier than January 7 nor later than January 9. On January 12, Roerer sent these *tabulae catechismi* to Spalatin at Altenburg. According to a letter of January 20, Roerer had charts hanging on the walls of his room *complectentes brevissime simul et crasse catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia.* February 12 he announced that the supply of charts was exhausted and that one could not buy one even for a gold guilder while originally a single chart was sold for one penny. We owe it to Buchwald, Albrecht, and Meyer that we now have

such trustworthy and definite information about these details. The only question that remains is whether the Large Catechism about New Year, 1529, had progressed far enough that it could be Luther's basis when he wrote the first three charts (so Meyer), or whether at that time the Large Catechism had not progressed much farther than the Fourth Commandment so that the *Tabulae* were of some influence upon Luther's further work on the Large Catechism (so Albrecht). But this is a very subordinate matter. That Luther worked on them at the same time and upon the same basis, the three series of catechetical sermons of 1528, is an established fact. In choosing the form of charts for the publication of the catechism *pro pueris et familia* Luther followed the usage of the later Middle Ages and his own practice when he published the first part of the Short Form. Printed on charts or placards and fixed upon the wall in the home, the school, or the church this most valuable instruction could be seen and read by all at all times. It is probable that even at the beginning the superscription of the charts was addressed "to the heads of the family that they may teach their children and servants."

The charts issued during the first week of 1529 contained no more than the three parts which Luther had repeatedly designated as genuine *Kinderlehre,* viz., Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, together with an explanation. Not until March 16, probably in consequence of the Reformer's illness and the pressure of other urgent work, did the remaining parts, the *tabulae de sacramentis baptismatis et sanguinis Christi* and the *Litania Germanica* appear. March 3, 1529, Luther speaking of the manuscript of both catechisms, wrote to Hausmann: "The catechism is not yet ready, but will be finished shortly" (*Enders, VII,* 60). Under the date of March 16, however, Roerer wrote to Roth at Zwickau: *"Nihil iam ad te mittere possum, quae recens excusa sunt, praeterquam . . . tabulas confessionis 3 pennies, Litaniam Germanicam 7 pennies, tabulas de sacramentis*

*baptismatis et corporis et sanguinis Christi two pennies . . . Literas invenies schedulis injectas, quas absque mora praesentabis d. doctori Stephano Wilde"* (Buchwald, *Entstehung p.* XII; Albrecht, *Luther's Katechismen* p. 59). What is meant by *tabulae confessionis* we do not know with certainty. Buchwald thinks of the form of confession that we find in the revised Wittenberg edition of the Small Catechism of 1529, where the *Litania Germanica* is also added. But this form (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 343-345) is so short that it hardly could fill **one** table and Roerer speaks of *tabulae* and the price given even suggests three tables. So probably Albrecht (*Luther's Katechismen,* p. 33f.) is right when he concludes that *tabulae confessionis* (not *de confessione*) is another name for the first three charts containing Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer. Roerer called them so because they always were to be recited in private confession preceding the Lord's Supper. He could enumerate them among the books "recently printed", as they just had come out for the second time, while the German Litany and the charts concerning the Sacraments had been printed for the first time. Both of them, the reprinted "tables of confession" (the Trilogy) and the charts concerning the Sacraments, were ready for transmission just in time for the Easter confession and communion, although this factor did not exclusively prompt their publication at this time. Luther had observed since compulsory confession had been abrogated how frequently evangelical freedom was used as a cloak to cover contempt of the Sacrament. To promote a correct understanding of the Sacrament and to arouse a heart-felt desire for it, Luther added these parts to the first three parts (cf. the Preface to the Small Catechism, written about two months later). At what time the last three charts, the one containing the Morning and Evening Prayers, the second the Benedicite and Gratias (i. e., the table prayers), and the third the Table of Duties, were written and printed we do not know with cer-

tainty. When Bugenhagen published the contents of the first five charts in book form, in Low German, in the spring of 1529, he also published the table prayers, but not the Morning and Evening prayers nor the Table of Duties; it is possible, however, that these were printed at that time but not known to him. The two charts containing the prayers at least were ready the first week of March, for they seem to be meant when Joseph Levin Metzsch of Mylau under date of March 7 wrote to Roth of Zwickau: "Herewith I am sending you the Benedicite and Gratias, also the Morning and Evening Prayers together with the Vice of Drunkenness; you certainly will have them printed (reprinted?)" (Albrecht, *L's Katech.* p. 59). If these charts originated earlier than those containing the Sacraments, it probably is due to the fact that they are more closely related to the Trilogy, and consequently have more claim to a place in what Luther calls *Kinderlehre.* It is possible that the Table of Duties was not written before Luther himself had collected the contents of the portions of the catechism already issued and published them in book form in the first weeks of May. It was then that he also added the preface.

In adding the last three sections Luther made use of material handed down to him by the preceding centuries. The *Benedicite* and *Gratias* were taken from the *Breviarium Romanum* (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 395f.); the Morning and Evening Prayers resumed thoughts that were found in catechetical writings of the 15th century (cf. *Table of Christian Life,* repr. by Bahlmann, p. 63f., and *The Christian Mirror* of Dederich, repr. by Moufang, p. XXVIIIf., XXXVIIIf., Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 393); the Table of Duties was influenced by Gerson's *tractatus de modo vivendi omnium fidelium,* reprinted at Wittenberg 1513. The 23 *considerationes* or *regulae* of this book *ad nobiles, ad milites, ad simplices, ad episcopos et praelatos, ad clericos ... ad viduas, ad nuptas, ad mulieres, ad maritos et uxores, parentum ad filios, filiorum ad parentes, dominorum ad*

*servos, servorum ad dominos, ad familiam . . . ad omnes* contain in at least nine paragraphs material analogous to the eleven paragraphs of Luther (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 646). In spite of this close connection with medieval material, Luther shaped these three parts, especially the Table of Duties, in such a way that they became Biblical and truly evangelical. The reason why he added them at all was to show the necessity of applying the Christian doctrine to the tasks of the daily life.

So the Small Catechism was published first in chart form. One of these charts in Low German, printed at Wittenberg in 1529, containing the Morning and Evening Prayers, has come down to our times. Albrecht reprinted it in its original size in his book: *Der kleine Katechismus Luthers nach der Ausgabe von* 1536, Halle 1906, and in reduced size in Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 241. Catechisms in chart form were in use long after the Small Catechism had been published in book form; practical and pedagogical reasons recommended them. The first to combine the charts in book form, as far as we know, was Bugenhagen. Occupied at the time with the regulation of church and school affairs at Hamburg, he welcomed the appearance of Luther's catechism charts with joy. They were what he had needed, and yet had to do without, when he reorganized church regulations in Brunswick in 1528. Two copies of this book appearing in 1529 in Low German, having a Hamburg imprint, are still extant. This is its title: *Eyn Catechismus effte vnderricht, Wo eyn Christen hueszwerth syn ghesynde schal vpt eyntfoldigheste leeren, vp frage vnnd antwort gestellt. Marti. Lutth.* 1529 (Reprinted by Moenckeberg and Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 243ff.).

Luther himself first published what was later called the *Large Catechism.* The completion of this had taken longer, than originally expected. The manuscript itself was completed in direct conjunction with the sermons preached from the 22nd to the 25th of March; for as Buchwald has shown, these ser-

mons were utilized in the Large Catechism. It is probable that printing was finished in the early part of April (cf. Albrecht, *L.s. Katech.* 66f.), although the first express evidence of it dates to the 23rd of April. Under this date Roerer referring to the Large Catechism wrote: "I am sending you three catechisms . . . one costs 2 gr." A companion volume to the German Mass of 1526, its title was simply *Deudsch Catechismus Mart. Luther.* There was as yet no occasion to designate this book as the "Large Catechism" for the reason that at this time no book with the title "Small Catechism" existed. Its component parts still circulated in the form of charts; and the above mentioned Hamburg print was designated *Eyn Catechismus effte vnderricht,* not *Small Catechism.* After Luther had published the charts in book form and called them *Small Catechism,* the new title *Large Catechism* gradually replaced the original title *Deudsch Catechismus.*

This "German Catechism" contained (1) the texts of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, "the most necessary parts which every Christian should first learn to repeat word for word"; (2) the words of institution of Baptism and Communion introduced by the remarks: "When these three parts have been learned, we ought to know how to speak concerning our Sacraments which Christ Himself instituted"; (3) the detailed exposition of these texts. A brief preface served to remind the fathers especially of their duty. In the same year, 1529, a second edition appeared, augmented by a confessional exhortation (cf. Mueller, *Symbolische Buecher,* pp. 773ff.) and an addition to the exposition of the Lord's Prayer (Mueller, p. 463). In 1530 a third edition was published, containing a second, rather lengthy preface (cf. H. E. Jacobs, *Book of Concord* I, pp. 383ff.), in which Luther also justifies catechism study in the well known words: "I am also a doctor and preacher, etc." (cf. Jacobs p. 384). From that time on its compass has remained the same. Having grown

out of Luther's catechetical sermons of 1528, the "German Catechism" offered excellent models for such sermons, and was often read in place of original sermons, and, having been written simultaneously with the Small Catechism, it is today one of the best commentaries on Luther's Small Catechism.

After issuing the Large or German Catechism, Luther arranged for the issue in book form of the catechetical material hitherto published in the form of charts. He no doubt knew of the book form published by Bugenhagen, but this did not contain the Morning and Evening Prayers and the Table of Duties, nor was it in High German. So a new edition in book form was necessary. This issue was completed on May 16, 1529. Under this date Roerer wrote: "Here you have the books you wished, and more than you wished, namely, 2 of Justus Menius, 2 against the Turk, 2 Small Catechisms (*Catechismi minores*) which cost 2 gr." G. v. Zezschwitz is reported to have said: "Should we know the day on which Luther's Small Catechism appeared all evangelical schools would have to celebrate it"; now we do know the day. On June 13, an "enlarged and revised edition" was already in circulation, for Roerer on that date wrote: "The Small Catechism (*Parvus Catechismus*) has already left the press for the third time and is enlarged in this last edition; so I am sending you a copy of it" (Albrecht, *L's Kat.* p. 59). Since Roerer speaks here of a third edition, the question arises whether he includes the issue in chart form or not. Since we do not know, whether only one edition of the charts appeared during the course of the winter; since this in itself is very improbable and we were led to assume a second edition of the Trilogy in the explanation of *tabulae confessionis* in Roerer's letter (cf. above); since the wording of the letter of June 13 (*Parvus Catechismus sub incudem iam tertio revocatus est*) points rather to the book form, which alone bears that name, and since it would not be anything so remarkable, that one of Luther's publications should have been printed

three times between the first week of January and June 13, it probably will be correct to hold that Roerer counted only the Wittenberg book editions. According to that the edition which was finished on June 13 was the third and not the second Wittenberg edition. That is not at all impossible; although it was indeed remarkable that the Small Catechism had to be printed for the third time after a lapse of only four or five weeks (thus we shall have to figure, since the Catechism may have already been in print for a week, when Roerer sent it, May 16). While no original copy of the Wittenberg edition of May 16 is extant, and none of the second Wittenberg edition that left the press between May 16 and June 13, (which seems to have been only a reprint), we know its contents from three reprints, two of which were printed at Erfurt and one at Marburg. Of the original Wittenberg edition of June 13, "enlarged and revised," however, one copy has come down to us and is now in the Germanic Museum at Nuernberg.

# 3. The Editions of Luther's Small Catechism During Luther's Lifetime

(1). **The Chart edition of January and March 1529.**

NONE of these charts have come down to us, but we have a Low German reprint of one containing the Morning and Evening Prayers, and we have a written copy of all of them, except the Table of Duties of which it is doubtful whether it had been written by Luther long before the book edition (cf. above). Michael Stiefel, pastor at Lochau, had copied them. Albrecht found the copy and published it for the first time in the Weim. Edition 30, I pp. 243 ff. On this basis we can state definitely the contents of the chart edition. It contained what we today call the Five Chief Parts, the Morning and Evening Prayers, and the Benedicite and Gratias. They, of course, had no common title, but each chart had the superscription: *Die zehen Gebot wie sie ein Hausvater seinem Gesinde einfaeltiglich vorhalten soll; Der Glaube, wie ein Hausvater, etc.*, and at the bottom of the chart the notation of the author's and the printer's name: *Mart. Luther, Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Nickel Schirlentz, M. D. XXIX.* The text of the Five Chief Parts used the form of questions and answers. On the basis of the first Latin translation, which did not have that form, this had been doubted. Now we know that the Fifth Chief Part contained the third question: "How can bodily eating and drinking effect such great things?" This had been doubted because it is lacking in the three reprints of the first Wittenberg book edition, May 16, 1529. The Benedicite was provided with the so-called "Scholion" to the word *Wohlgefallen*: *"Wohlgefallen heisst hier, etc."* The charts

were not illustrated with pictures. Luther himself referred to this chart edition October 24, 1529 (Weim. Ed. 28, 662, 2. 663, 4) and December 18, 1537 (*Weim. Ed. Tischreden Nr.* 667); though hardly in his sermon at Kemberg on July 11, 1529 (Weim. Ed. 29, 427); but the expression "these tables" in the preface to the Small Catechism (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 348, 5 and 350, 2) had its origin in the memory of the edition in chart-form. How often these charts were printed in the months of January, February, March, and April, is not known to us. But because the first three editions were out of print so quickly, we reckon with numerous reprints. According to a note of Aurifaber in the second supplementary volume of Luther's Works (Eisleben, 1565, 13 f.) some one seems to have collected the first three charts into a little book with the title: *Enchiridion christlicher unterweisungen, nuetzlich und gut fuer die jugent und einfaeltige Laien, ja auch fuer alle Christen, wie man sie zu Gottes Worte und dienste fueren moege. Anno* 1529 (Weim. Ed. 30, 1, 667. 568.)

(2). **Bugenhagen's Low German book edition of the charts, about April 1529,** printed in Hamburg. The title has been mentioned above. It contains the Five Chief Parts and the Benedicite and Gratias and has no pictures. After the Wittenberg book edition had appeared (May 16, 1529) the same Hamburg printer, Jurgen Richolff, published Luther's preface contained therein, in Low German in a separate booklet of eight leaves, with the title: *Enchiridion. De kleene Catechismus vor de gemeynen karckheren vnde Predikere. Mart. Lut.* 1529.

(3). **Luther's own High German Wittenberg book edition of May 16, 1529.** As mentioned above no copies of this edition remain, but we are very fortunate in having three reprints of it that enable us to make fairly reliable statements about its contents. There are two Erfurt reprints: *Der Kleine Catechismus fur die gemeine Pfarherr und Prediger. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg;* sixteen leaves in octavo; at the end: *Gedruckt zu*

*Erffurd durch Conrad Treffer,* and one Marburg reprint: *Der kleine Catechismus Fuer die gemeyne Pfarherr und Prediger. Mart. Luther. Marpurg,* 1529; twenty-four leaves in octavo; at the end: *Gedruckt zu Marpurg ym jar M. D. und XXIX.* All three reprints, of which Marburg followed Erfurt and Erfurt the lost first or second Wittenberg edition, have these contents: (a) Luther's preface to pastors and preachers; (b) The Five Chief Parts; (c) the Morning and Evening Prayers; (d) the Benedicite and Gratias; (e) the Table of Duties: *Die Haustafel etlicher sprueche fur allerley heilige orden und stende, dadurch die selbigen als durch eigen lection yhres ampts und diensts zu ermanen;* (f) the Marriage Booklet. These six parts apparently had been the contents of the original lost Wittenberg book edition published by Luther himself. The reprints were made rather carelessly; especially noteworthy are the omissions in the Fifth Chief Part where not only the words *essen und zu* in the answer to the first question are omitted, but the whole third question (How can bodily eating and drinking effect such great things?) and its answer, of which we now know with certainty that it was not wanting in the chart edition and therefore, would hardly be lacking in the original Wittenberg book edition. The second Erfurt and the Marburg editions also omit the "Scholion" mentioned above. The book title of the lost Wittenberg edition is carefully preserved by the Erfurt reprints, which do not even omit the word *Wittenberg.* It is surprising that all three reprints between Luther's preface and the First Chief Part have the words: *Ein kleiner Catechismus odder Christliche zucht.* They no doubt were in the lost Wittenberg edition. Perhaps Luther put them there when he first combined the various "Tables" before he had written the preface. Their omission in the following editions was correct. As in the chart edition and in Bugenhagen's Low German edition, the Lord's Prayer still lacked the introduction "Our Father who art in heaven" and its explanation, beginning immediately with

the first petition. Confession received no attention at all. In the preface Luther dedicated his book not to *pueri et familia,* nor to the fathers or heads of the family as we might expect, but to the pastors and preachers. At the same time, however, with the exception of the First Chief Part where by inserting the title: *Ein kleiner Catechismus odder Christliche zucht,* the superscription: *Die zehen gebot wie sie ein Haussvater, etc.* had been crowded out, he did not eliminate the superscriptions at the head of the several parts found in the chart editions (e. g. *"Der Glaube, wie ein Hausvater den selbigen seinem Gesinde aufs einfaeltigste fuerhalten soll"*) This is no contradiction. The Small Catechism was designated now, just as before, for use in the home, but the form used in the home was intended to be the same as the one used in church and school, and the pastors were not only responsible for the instruction at home, in church, and in school, but many of them were themselves so ignorant that they needed a definite form upon which to base the instruction of the common people, especially the young.

(4). **The enlarged and revised Wittenberg edition of June 13, 1529:** *Enchiridion. Der kleine Catechismus fuer die gemeine Pfarher und Prediger. Gemehret und gebessert, durch Mart. Luther. Wittenberg.* This is the first High German edition that has come down to us, but in a very defective and mutilated copy. When Riederer got hold of it in 1765 at the University Library in Altdorf, it was still complete, and he described it in his *Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten- und Buechergeschichte* (Altdorf, 1765, vol. II pp. 90ff.) Comparing his description and the later mutilated original, we arrive at a reliable statement about its contents. It was a book of one hundred and twenty leaves in small octavo with the impress at the end: *Gedruckt zu Wittenberg, durch Nickel Schirlentz, MDXXIX,* with borders on the title page, 12 additional title borders, and 20 illustrations, and contained: (a) Luther's preface; (b) the Five Chief Parts with their explanations; (c) the Morning

and Evening Prayers; (d) the Benedicite and Gratias; (e) the Table of Duties; (f) the Marriage Booklet; (g) the Baptism Booklet; (h) a Short Form of Confession; (i) the German Litany with music; (j) three collects. The principal part of the book, (i. e., a-e) does not show any textual additions; the two defects of the Fifth Chief Part which we met in the reprints of the first Wittenberg book edition are removed, and the second title between the preface and the First Commandment (*Ein kleiner Catechismus odder Christliche zucht*) is replaced by the superscription *Die Zehen gebot, wie sie ein Hausvater seinem gesynde einfeltiglich fuerhalten sol.* Added, however, are the illustrations. In the second part of the book, (i. e., f-j), we find several additions; g-j is entirely new; the Baptismal Booklet and the German Litany had been published before, but not as part of a book called a catechism. The word *Enchiridion* on the title page is also new.

Why Luther now designated his Catechism as *Enchiridion* or "Little Handbook" is not quite clear. The reason can hardly be simply that others before him had thus designated the books for beginners, and that Melanchthon called his religious primer of 1523 by this name (Cohrs I pp. 17-64), for the principal part of the "enlarged and revised" edition did not contain anything calling for such a title, any more than the edition of May 16, and the many additions of the second part certainly do not belong to a religious primer. If they were added with the knowledge of Luther— and this is to be presupposed with such a carefully prepared edition—then another explanation is necessary. By adding the second part the little book had grown to the size of a pastoral manual (*enchiridion*) in which the pastors found many of those forms which they needed beside the "German Mass." But Luther had in mind not only the pastors, but also the laity; he was in hopes that these additions would bring about an intelligent appreciation and an active participation in the various holy acts and forms offered in the second

part of the book (cf. the preface to the Marriage and Baptism Booklet, Weim. Ed. 19). In fact, during the sixteenth century, the Small Catechism largely served the purpose of a "church book" that was taken along when people went to church as today they take the hymnbook. From time to time, therefore, other liturgical parts were added, as Psalm 111 which was sung at the celebration of the Holy Supper, the Te Deum, the Magnificat, the Prayer against the Turk ("Lord keep us steadfast in Thy Word"). We observe here the faint beginnings of liturgical training as a part of Christian instruction. From this it follows that it is questionable to call the Small Catechism proper *Enchiridion,* as is sometimes done.—In the enlarged and revised edition we find for the first time a section on Confession; it is, however, not as yet a part of the Catechism proper and gives no information about the nature of Confession, but is only a liturgical form or two *formulae confessionis* (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 343 f.).

A new feature is found in the 20 illustrations of our edition, one for each of the Ten Commandments: (1. Moses receiving the tables of the law while the people are dancing around the golden calf; 2. Stoning of Shelomith's son who blasphemed the name of the Lord and cursed; 3. The man gathering wood on the Sabbath day and the congregation gathered at the church to hear God's Word; 4. The Sin of Ham; 5. Cain killing his brother; 6. David looking at Bathsheba washing herself; 7. Achan the thief; 8. The two false witnesses testifying against Susanna; 9. Jacob craftily seeking to gain the stronger cattle; 10. Joseph, tempted by Potiphar's wife, leaves her and flees); one for each Article of the Creed (1. The Creation of the world; 2. Christ upon the cross; 3. The outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost); one for each Petition of the Lord's Prayer (1. The pastor preaching to his congregation; 2. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit; 3. Christ carrying His cross and being maltreated; 4. Jesus feeding the five thousand; 5.

The wicked servant; 6. The temptation of Christ; 7. The woman of Canaan pleading with the Lord). The remaining parts are without illustrations. These illustrations represent the same events as those represented by the illustrations of two editions of the Large Catechism, printed 1529 by Rhau, but the cuts used by Schirlentz for our edition— at least those for the Decalogue — were made after cuts prepared by Rhau in 1528 for Melanchthon's *Short Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (printed in 1529 as part of *Ein Buechlein für die Kinder, gebessert und gemehret. Der Leyen Biblia,* cf. Cohrs I pp. 191, 198, 238; Cohrs, *Supplementa Melanchthoniana,* 1915, pp. 74 f.); in this edition of the *Leyen Biblia* we find also the illustrations for the Creed. The illustrations were very poorly executed. Luther, who had good insight into the importance of illustrations (cf. his *Passionale* of 1529, Reu II pp. XVIII—XXIV 32-41) and in the preface to his Small Catechism urged teachers to use many stories from the Bible, designated the Biblical events that were to be represented by pictures and Schirlentz used the corresponding cuts which he had on hand or could easily get.

(5). **The edition of 1531.** Here we have the final form of the Small Catechism. The only copy extant is in possession of the Bodleiana at Oxford; in Berlin there is a photographic fascimile of the original. The title is: *ENCHIRIDION. Der kleine Catechismus fuer die gemeine Pfarher und Prediger, Mart. Lu. M. D. XXXI;* these words are found at the end: *Gedruckt zu Wittemberg, durch Nickel Schirlentz. M. D. XXXI.* It has 102 leaves in small Octavo. The title page and ten titles inside the book have borders. There are 23 woodcuts, three more than in the "enlarged and revised" edition of June 13, 1529, for the introduction of Lord's Prayer, the Lord's Supper, and the Baptism Booklet now each have one illustration; since 1536 the Fourth Chief Part is also provided with one. Here we find two important additions characteristic

of this edition. (a) The introduction to the Lord's Prayer with its beautiful explanation; (b) the section on Confession, which in the edition of June 13 was found after the Baptism Booklet, is replaced by an entirely new form and this is now made a part of the Catechism proper and inserted between the Fourth and Fifth Chief Parts. Up to this time the Third Chief Part had a conclusion consisting in the word *Amen,* not in the doxology, *For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever,* for no Wittenberg edition of Luther's Small Catechism published during his life time had the doxology (cf. Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 378; Reu, *New Engl. Transl.* p. 13) and this Amen was explained ("That I should be sure, etc.") but it had no introduction whatever; the words *Our Father who art in heaven* were previously neither printed in the Small Catechism nor explained. By having them printed and explained the Third Chief Part was now completely rounded out. Of still greater importance was the second addition: *Wie man die Einfaeltigen soll lehren beichten.* It consists of two parts very different in their character. The first three questions and their answers (1. What is Confession; 2. What sins should we confess; 3. Which are these?) are of catechetical character and explain the nature of Confession and the duty of him who confesses, while the second part is of purely liturgical character, being a form for Private Confession. At the most the first half of the second part, which contains the Form of Confession, could be credited with catechetical character, in so far as it belongs to catechetical instruction to show in a practical way, how to confess sins in Private Confession. From this it can be understood, why later editions (e. g. Nuernberg 1569 and 1570, cf. Reu I 1 p. 428 and I 2p. 72*) inserted after the two Forms of Confession the words: *So weit wird er* (the Catechism) *von den Kindern gesagt.* In his letter to the people of Frankfurt, 1532, (Erl. Ed.$^2$ 26, 381 ff.; 387 f.) Luther defended and explained the insertion of this whole section; here

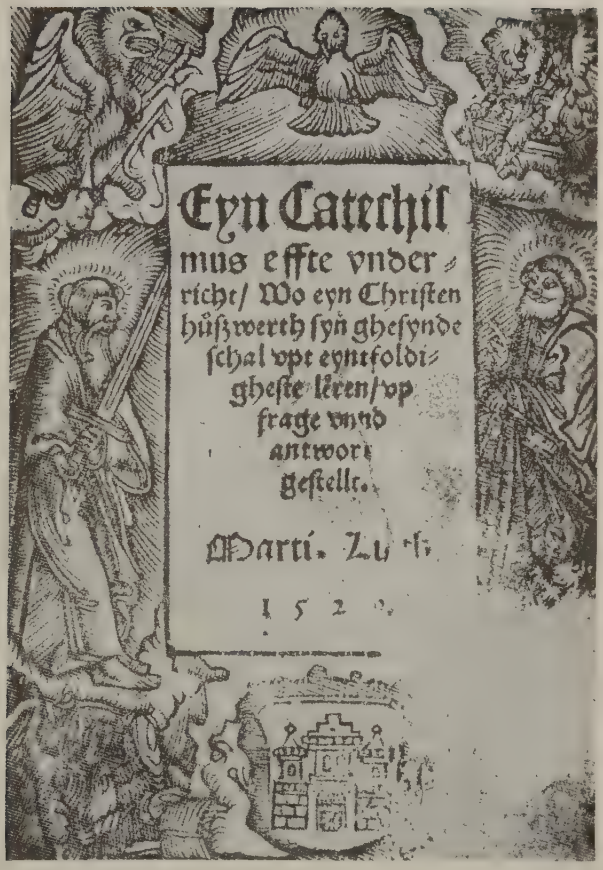


PLATE TWO: Title page of the first Low German book edition, April, 1529

PLATE THREE: Title page of the first edition of Luther's Large Catechism, April, 1529

(p. 383) we first learn from him that the insertion was meant for those, who wished to partake of the Lord's Supper—this had not been expressed in the text of 1531. At any rate the arrangement betrays some uncertainty and inconsistency. To give a form for Private Confession was necessary, as long as this custom was to be practiced, and was especially to precede the Lord's Supper (cf. Augustana XI); but its suitable place would have been after the Catechism proper (cf. edition of June 13). In his explanation of the Catechism, 1568, Tetelbach places the paragraphs on Confession, the Prayers, and the Table of Duties into the "second part of the Catechism" (I, 1 p. 707 ff.). Instruction regarding the nature of Confession was also necessary, and this belonged to the Catechism proper. The place between the Fourth and Fifth Chief Part was well selected. By the last question and answer of the Fourth Part the way was paved for the information about Confession, and this information in turn was a good preparation for the Fifth Part. At the same time it will be noted that Luther did not put Confession on the same level with Baptism nor with Lord's Supper. He did not choose the heading "The Sacrament of Confession," but simply "How the Simple should be Taught to Confess."—The second part of the Catechism in the edition of 1531 consists of the Marriage and Baptism Booklet and the German Litany. The peculiar form of Confession of the June 13 edition naturally does not reappear, since the paragraph on Confession had been inserted between the Fourth and Fifth Chief Part, and the three collects are also eliminated. The retaining of the Marriage- and Baptism-Booklet and the Litany justifies the retaining of the word *Enchiridion* on the title page and confirms our explanation of its meaning.

(6). **The Wittenberg High German editions from 1531 till 1546.** In this period Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg reprinted the High German Catechism in 1535 (repr. by Knoke, 1903, in *Ausgaben des Lutherischen Enchiridions bis zu Lu-*

*thers Tod,* etc.), 1536 (repr. by Albrecht, 1905, in *Der Kleine Kat. D. M. L's nach der Ausgabe vom Jahr* 1536), 1537 (repr. 1889 by Goepfert in *Woerterbuch z. Kl. Kat. L's*), 1539 (repr. 1856 by Th. Harnack in *Der Kl. Kat. L's in seiner Urgestalt*), 1540 (repr. 1904 by Allbrecht in *Jahrbuch der Koenigl. Akademie zu Erfurt, Neue Folge,* 30), 1542 (repr. 1882 by Calinich in *D. M. L's Kl. Katechismus, Beitrag zur Textrevision*), 1543. All these reprints retained all essentials of the edition of 1531, for which reason we call this edition final. It is true they show some minor changes, but it is very questionable whether they were made or sanctioned by Luther. In most cases the printer and proof reader are responsible for them. Some changes are made and dropped again. They are chiefly attempts to harmonize the Bible passages in the Catechism with the phraseology of the German Bible, which was completed in 1534. Luther himself had, especially in connection with the Ten Commandments, simply adopted the text current at Wittenberg. A few examples suffice: In 1536 we find *missbrauchen* in the Second Commandment, but in 1540 the original *unnuetzlich fuehren;* in 1540 the promise is added to the Fourth Commandment. Since 1535 in the answer to the third question of Confession (Which are these?) the three words: *zornig, unzuechtig, heissig,* which had always appeared after *unfleissig,* are omitted; this is probably due to a printer's error. Since 1536 the Wittenberg editions in the answer to the third question of Baptism (How can water do such great things?) no longer read: *auf dass wir durch desselben Gnade gerechtfertiget erben seien* as before, but rather: auf *dass wir durch desselben Gnade gerecht und Erben seien;* thus they not only abandoned the Greek construction and to a certain extent glossed over the thought of Paul, but they also dropped the one passage in which the Small Catechism used the term *rechtfertigen.* Other changes were made to harmonize the German and Latin editions, so in 1540 we find in the Table of Duties a new section, *Was die*

*Christen ihren Lehrern und Seelsorgern zu thun schuldig sind,* which was offered by the two Latin translations of 1529; in 1542 there is also a section on *Was die Untertanen der Obrigkeit zu thun schuldig sind,* offered since 1529 by the same Latin translations. All Wittenberg High German editions between 1531 and 1546 have on their title page the word *Enchiridion* and contain the Marriage- and the Baptism-Booklet. In 1536, 1537, 1539 we also find *Das Te Deum laudamus verdeutscht durch D. Mart. Luth.* and *Das Magnificat;* in 1543 *Ein Gebet wider den Tuerken, Christi und seiner Kirche Erbfeinde* (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 679).

All extant Wittenberg editions, also those of June 13, 1529 and 1531, the Erfurt and Marburg reprints of the lost original Wittenberg edition (May 16), and the Low German Hamburg edition of April 1529, and even Stiefel's transcript of the "Tables," offer the following form in the Second Article: *erloeset, erworben, gewonnen* **und** *von allen Suenden, vom Tode und von der Gewalt des Teufels.* This can hardly be attributed to a printer's error; no doubt Luther himself stated it thus, using the word *und* in the sense of *und zwar,* as he often did. Since 1558 one meets the present form: *erloeset, erworben* **und** *gewonnen von allen Suenden, etc.;* the Book of Concord offers this form in its version of the Small Catechism; and subsequently the original was entirely forgotten. While the reprints of the lost original Wittenberg edition, the "revised and enlarged" Wittenberg edition, the print of 1531 and 1535, also the Low German Hamburg edition, and the second Latin translation of 1529 read: **Der** *Teufel, der Welt und unseres Fleisches Wille,* (Low German: *De Duevel, de werlt* (nominative) *und unses flesckes Wylle;* Latin: *Diabolus, mundi et carnis nostrae voluntas*): after the Wittenberg edition of 1536, we usually find: **Des** *Teufels, der Welt und unsers Fleisches Wille.* In his transcript of the Tables Stiefel already offers this reading (perhaps he himself made the correction) and the first

Latin translation of 1529 *voluntas Satanae, mundi et carnis nostrae* presupposes it. We note that no Wittenberg edition of Luther's time has the threat in the Second Commandment nor *geluesten* in the Ninth and Tenth Commandments, and that in the Third Commandment, in spite of the reading in the Latin translations: *Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices,* all German editions nevertheless read: *Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen.* The edition of 1540 is marked on the title page as "revised"; the "revision", however, consists in this, that the Second Commandment has *unnuetzlich fuehren,* that the Fourth Commandment has the promise, and that the Table of Duties adds a new group of Scripture passages (cf. above). Luther's participation in the production of this edition does not follow from this statement; still less is this the case in the 1542 edition of Schirlentz, even though it has on its title page: *Aufs neue uebersehen und zugericht.* This edition offers the second new group of Scripture passages in the Table of Duties mentioned above, but aside from this is based entirely on the edition of 1540 and is very carelessly set up; in the Marriage Booklet seven lines have been omitted altogether. Consequently those were ill advised, who considered this edition the last from Luther's own hand, and it is to be regretted that the Eisenach Conference in 1884 based its uniform text on this edition. It is neither the last Wittenberg edition before Luther's death (that appeared in 1543 and has the same note: *Aufs neue uebersehen und zugericht*), nor did Luther participate in its publication. The note on the title page of 1540, 1542 and 1543 very likely was made by the printer. There can be no doubt whatever that the edition of 1531 is the proper one to use for the purpose of attaining a uniform text.

(7). **High German Editions printed outside of Wittenberg between 1529 and 1546.** The two Erfurt reprints and the Marburg reprint of the lost original Wittenberg edition have been mentioned above. Further we note the following

editions: Nuernberg (?), Gutknecht (?), 1529 or 1530 (a reprint of the "revised and enlarged" Wittenberg edition of June 13); Marburg, Fr. Rhode, 1531; Erfurt, M. Sachsse, 1534; Magdeburg, M. Lotther, 1540; Leipzig, V. Schumann, 1541; Magdeburg, M. Lotther, 1542; Leipzig, V. Schumann, 1542; Augsburg, V. Otthmar, 1542; Leipzig, V. Babst, 1543, 1544, and 1545; Neuburg on the Danube, H. Kilian, 1545; and an undetermined edition known only through one defective copy. The Five Chief Parts are also contained in the third part of a book printed in Nuernberg, about 1543, bearing the title: *Ein ordentliches vnd Christliches Leszbuechlein fuer die kindlein* (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 687). A very careful edition is the one published at Leipzig by Babst; but to take from this, that it was published under Luther's direction, is unwarranted. Indeed, the fact that many sections were printed with careful division of the text—in the Conclusion of the Ten Commandments the words: *Er verheisst aber etc.* begin a new line; the explanation of the First Article is divided into sections, but the Second and Third Articles show no such division; the explanation of the First Petition has been given the same treatment; not, however, the others—leads to the belief that the press-corrector was a schoolman; yet one wonders why he did not divide all the larger sections of the Catechism similarly, e. g. the Ten Commandments, the Second Article, etc. But that the editions made by Babst deserve special attention in establishing the "authentic text", is a vain claim (this in opposition to Knoke, who reprinted in part the 1543 edition of Babst in *D. M. L's Kl. Kat. nach den aeltesten Ausgaben*).

All of these reprints, except two (and the *Leszbuechlein*) have the word *Enchiridion* on the title page; all have the Marriage- and Baptism-Booklet; some also have other additions; Leipzig, Babst, 1543 (also 1544 and 1545) contains at the end of the whole *Enchiridion* this twofold addition: (a). *Ein Kinderlied (Beweis dein Macht, etc.; Erhalt uns, Herr, etc.; Ver-*

*leih uns Frieden gnaediglich etc.*) ; (b). *Ein Gebet (Herr Gott, himmlischer Vater, der du heiligen Mut, guten Rat und rechte Werke schaffest etc.) und Vermahnung an die Christenkinder, wider die zween groessten Erbfeinde Christi zu singen und zu beten.* The introduction to the Ten Commandments *Ich bin der Herr dein Gott* is found in none of these editions, but in the Nuernberg Sermons for Children of 1553 (cf. below) ; from these the introductory words found their way into many Catechisms after 1546, e. g. into the Nuernberg edition of Luther's Small Catechism of 1558 (Reu, I, 1 p. 427, Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 746). Also the addition to the Conclusion of the Ten Commandments found in some of the later editions, *starker, eifriger Gott,* was taken from the Nuernberg Sermons for Children. The Vulgate had interpreted the Hebrew *el* as *scriptio defectiva* and consequently had taken it as an adjective ; that led to the translation : *Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, fortis, zelotes, visitans = Ich bin Yahveh, dein Gott, ein Gewaltiger, ein Eifersuechtiger etc.;* compare Ezek. 31 :11 and the following commentaries : Orelli 1896, p. 125 ; Herrmann 1924, p. 192, and Gesenius' Lexicon 1899; p. 32. The same translation was adopted by the 1529 Latin editions of the Small Catechism. This then very likely gave rise to the version found in the Nuernberg Sermons for Children : *Ich, der Herr, dein Gott, bin ein starker, eifriger Gott.* While the translation of the Vulgate is grammatically possible, yet hardly correct, the version of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children is still less a true reproduction of the Hebrew original, for although, like the Vulgate, it takes *el* as *fortis,* it additionally inserts *Gott.*

(8). **Additions to Luther's Catechism, not found before 1546.** There are two : The Office of the Keys, and The Christian Questions for those who want to take the Lord's Supper.

(a). **The Office of the Keys.** Under this heading, usually combined with Confession, we find material inserted in Luther's Catechism, often called the Fifth Chief Part (the Lord's Sup-

per is then the Sixth Chief Part) or also the Sixth Chief Part (Lord's Supper then being the Fifth). There was, however, no such part in any of the editions of the Small Catechism issued during Luther's life time, nor did the material originate with Luther. There are three different forms of the Office of the Keys, and also three different sources from which they came.

The first and best known form is to be traced back to the Nuernberg Sermons for Children by Osiander and Sleupner, 1533. Already in 1531, in the four page edition entitled: *Ein kurtzer Begriff der Hauptstueck, so in den Catechismum, das ist in die kinder lere gehoeren* (I, 1, 425), containing only the text of Luther's Catechism, we find the passage John 20:22ff. inserted between the Lord's Prayer and Baptism (!) under the title: *Vom beruf vnd ambt des worts vnd der schluessel.* In the Sermons for Children we find a sermon on *Das Amt der Schluessel,* but now between the sermon on Baptism and the sermon on the Lord's Supper. And as the other sermons of this series regularly conclude with a recapitulation of the main thoughts in the words of Luther's Catechism, the sermon on the Office of the Keys does the same (Reu, I, 1 p. 553-559). The Scripture text of the sermon is John 20:22-23: *Jesus breathed on them and said, etc.,* and the summary of the sermon reads thus: *I believe that when the called ministers of Christ deal with us by His divine command, especially when they exclude manifest and impenitent sinners from the Christian congregation, and again, when they absolve those who repent of their sins and are willing to amend, this is as valid and certain in Heaven, as if Christ, our dear Lord, dealt with us Himself.* Together with the Nuernberg Sermons for Children the use of this part of the Office of the Keys spread widely throughout Germany and beyond its bounds. And as the summary of this sermon was introduced exactly like the summaries of the other sermons taken from Luther's Catechism,

not a few imagined that this summary was a part of the Catechism, and it came into use even in provinces where the Nuernberg Sermons had never been officially recognized, e. g. in parts of Saxony. As an independent Chief Part one meets the Office of the Keys for the first time in the catechisms based on the Nuernberg Sermons. Thus Caspar Aquila of Saalfeld, Thuringia, published a catechism 1538 (based on the Nuernberg Sermons) in which the Office of the Keys is an integral part appearing between Baptism and Lord's Supper. The first three questions and answers follow: (a) *"Was seind die Schluessel des Himmelreichs? Sie seind ein aufloesung oder absolution aller suend der bussfertigen, die es begeren vnnd glauben an das lieb Euangelio von Christo ihrem erloeser, auch ein zubindung aller suend der unbussfertigen Oder in ban thun deren, die sich nicht bessern woellen.* (b) *Wo stehet das geschrieben? Der Herr Jesus, wie Joh. am 20. stehet, bliess seine Juenger an ... den sind sie behalten.* (*c*) *Wie verstehest du diese wort? Ich glaub, das was die beruffenen diener Christi ... das es alles so krefftig sey auch im himel, als handelte vnser lieber HERr Christus selber.* When Georg Karg of Ansbach, 1556, wrote his long used catechism, which was published in 1558 and 1561 without his knowledge (Reu, *Beitr. z. Bayr. Kirchengeschichte,* 1906, p. 130ff.) and was offered to the public by himself in 1564, he naturally based it on the Nuernberg Sermons and also offered a paragraph on the Office of the Keys (*Kurtze ausslegung der wort vom Gewalt der Christlichen Kirchen*); however, he did not place it between Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but rather after the Lord's Supper as a Sixth Part. He divides this part into four sections. The third section contains Luther's three questions on Confession, 1531; the fourth contains some practical advice on confession, probably based on Luther (I, 1 p. 584f.); the second consists of two questions, the one a question on absolution and the other on the ban; and the first section consists of the following: *Was*

*ist das Ampt der Schluessel? Das Ampt der Schluessel ist ein Geistlicher gewalt, den Christus seiner Kirchen vnnd dienern gegeben hat, in krafft seines Goettlichen Worts vnd der Sacrament die bussfertigen Menschen von Suenden zu Absolvirn oder zu loesen vnd die vnbussfertigen zu binden. Wo stehet das geschrieben? Johannis am 20. Capitel spricht Christus zu seinen Juengern: Nemet hin den heiligen Geist... behalten. Wie verstehest du diese Wort? Ich glaube, was die beruffenen Diener...vnser lieber HERr Christus selbst.* So we seemingly have here the first attempt to combine and to make into a special part Osiander's ideas on the Office of the Keys and Luther's paragraph on Confession, 1531.

But catechetical works independent of Osiander, appearing in the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, also have a paragraph on the Office of the Keys and on Absolution—perhaps influenced by Melanchthon, who often called Absolution the third Sacrament. In Frankfurt on the Oder Willich in his *Corpus Catechismi* of 1540, and in his detailed Catechesis of 1551, had a paragraph *De absolutione aut potestate clavium* as *sexta pars catechismi.* In the *Summula Catechismi* of Lossius in Lueneburg, 1540, we meet a paragraph on *poenitentia, confessio* and *absolutio* as *quarta pars,* likewise in his *Exegesis* of 1545. In the especially influential *Margarita theologica* of John Spangenberg, 1540, *absolutio* is counted as the third Sacrament, and we find a section on *De potestate ecclesiastica.* In Bugenhagen's *Kirchenordnung* for Schleswig-Holstein, 1542, the Office of the Keys appears as the Fifth Part of the Catechism, with the Scripture passage Math. 16. The *Kirchenordnung* for Hamburg made by Aepin, 1539, knows of such a part: *de potestate clavium,* so also the *Kirchenordnung* made by Aepin for Bergedorf, 1544; a catechism for Hamburg appearing under Aepin, 1549, has a Chief Part: *Von dem Ampte der Sloetel vnd Absolution,* so also the detailed catechism of

J. Pistorius for the Hamburg Latin school, which appeared for the first time in 1550 (cf. Reu, I, 3, 264*).

Those being the circumstances, one can understand that in catechetical works which wished to offer only Luther's Catechism a paragraph also appeared on the Office of the Keys, which in its whole form showed signs of adaptation to Luther's Five Chief Parts. Melisander and Rosinus, who worked together in Weimar, 1570-1573, seem to have been of influence in this respect. In an edition of the *Enchiridion* for Altenburg, printed 1582 when Melisander was superintendent, the Office of the Keys is inserted between the Fourth Chief Part and Confession; it has a superscription that corresponds to those of the other Chief Parts: *Das Ampt der Schluessel, wie ein Haussvater dasselbige seinem Gesinde einfeltiglich fuerhalten soll;* like the other Chief Parts it is provided with an illustration (Peter with the Key), and it bears the form which for several centuries obtained in Saxony and Thuringia: *Was ist das Amt der Schluessel? Es ist der* (!) *sonderbare Kirchengewalt, den* (!) *Christus seiner Kirche auf Erden hat gegeben, den bussfertigen Suendern die Suende zu vergeben, den unbussfertigen aber die Suende zu behalten, solange sie nicht Busse thun. Wo steht das geschrieben? Joh. 20. Was glaubst Du bei diesen Worten? Ich glaube, was die berufenen Diener Christi etc.* In all probability Aquila's catechisms (1, 2, 51 ff.*) present the connecting link through which the Office of the Keys found in the Nuernberg Sermons entered the Catechisms of Saxony and Thuringia.

In Pomerania, Dr. Knipstro, the leader of the church, was in a remarkable measure interested in Confession and the Office of the Keys as a regular part of the catechetical instruction. In the minutes of the Pomeranian synod, held 1554 at Greifswald, we read: *Zum neunten is gewilliget, dass das sechste Stueck des Catechismi von Beicht und Schluesseln des Himmelreiches wie es im Catechismo verfasst und itzt im Synodo*

*proponiert und angenommen ist, der Gemeinde und den Kindern soll fuergelegt und erklaert werden* (Reu, I, 2 p. 197). In the Pomeranian Agenda of 1569 the Catechism of Luther together with this Sixth Part has been printed (Reu, I, 3, p. 241ff.). This is the second form of the Office of the Keys and the most elaborate one, consisting of six questions and answers. Like the one of Osiander in the Nuernberg Sermons it is based on John 20, but aside from this common basis it has nothing in common with Osiander's form. We note these six questions: 1. "What are the keys of the Heavenly Kingdom? The keys of the Heavenly Kingdom are that power instituted by Jesus Christ on earth in the Gospel to remit the sins of the penitent and to retain the sins of the impenitent, according to the words of Christ; 2. Which are these words? Those which our Lord Jesus Christ speaks, John 20: 'as the Father hath sent me etc.'; 3. What benefit do the keys confer? These words also show that: 'whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven them; etc.'; 4. How can a man remit sins? 5. Whose sins are to be remitted? 6. Whose sins are to be retained?" It is obvious that these questions have been formed after the pattern of Luther's Fourth and Fifth Parts, and with the aim that the Office of the Keys might stand on the same level with the other parts. Since this form was used outside of Pomerania only in Mecklenburg, and there only sporadically (the six questions in the Rostock edition of 1556 are dependent upon it [Reu, I, 3 p. 429*ff] and in a Rostock edition of 1599 they appear again [Reu, I, 2 p. 501*f.]), it did not influence the formation of the Office of the Keys very much. If it has exerted any influence on its formation, this would be limited to the answer: "The Office of the Keys is the peculiar etc."

Of an entirely different character is the third form as we find it in the Catechism of Brenz of 1535 (Reu, I, 1 p. 314). It consists of two questions and answers: "1. What are the keys of the Heavenly Kingdom? The preaching of the holy gospel

of Jesus Christ. 2. Where has Christ instituted such preaching office? Luke 10:16: 'He that heareth you ... rejecteth me;'; Matth. 16:19: Here Christ said to Peter and in his name to all apostles and preachers of the Gospel: 'I will give unto thee the keys ... shall be loosed in heaven.'; John 20:22-23: 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit ... retained unto them."

What in the Catechism we call "Office of the Keys" is derived from the Nuernberg Sermons for Children of 1533. With regard to the peculiar Strassburg form, which can be traced back to Butzer, but was retained by Marbach when he re-wrote Luther's Catechism, see below, chapter five.

(b). **Christian Questions for those who want to receive the Lord's Supper.** Since the second half of the 16th century this addition can be found in a growing number of editions of Luther's Small Catechism. These twenty questions and answers are reprinted in Reu, I, 2, pp. 687-689. We do not need to prove their absence in all editions of the Small Catechism up to Luther's death. After Luther's death we find them for the first time in a separate Erfurt edition of 1549: *Etliche fragestuecke durch D. Martinum Luther gestellt, fuer die, so zum Sacrament gehen wollen, mit ihren antworten, vor nicht in Druck kommen. Die fuenff frage vom Sacrament des Altars. Mit einer vorrede Johan Pomers.* In Luther's Small Catechism we find them for the first time in an undated Wittenberg edition (1551-1566) and in the edition of Frankfurt 1559. After 1565 they are often printed together with *Das kleine Corpus Doctrinae* by M. Judex (I, 3 pp. 444-472*), and in the Regensburg edition, 1573, of this book we find the remark: *der Kirchen Christi zu Kemberg erstlich zugestellt.* So it seems evident that Luther is the author and that the congregation at Kemberg is the one for which he had written them. But as early as 1566 the corrector of the printery of Lufft at Wittenberg, Christoph Walther, maintained that not Luther but Dr. Lange of Erfurt

(died 1548) is to be considered as their author. We are convinced that he is right (Reu, I, 2, p. 201*f.; Albrecht, *Neue Katechismusstudien in Theol. Studien und Kritiken,* 1909, pp. 592ff.).

# 4. The Translations of Luther's Small Catechism Between 1529 and 1600

## (1). Low German translations

AS LOW German was the language of all the northern part of Germany as far south as Magdeburg, used not only by the common people on the street but also by the preachers in the pulpit and for several decades by the teachers in school (in Latin schools only as a connecting link between the German speaking home and the Latin speaking school), it was necessary to translate the High German Small Catechism into Low German. This was done at Wittenberg, as soon as the Small Catechism had been published in chart form. We mentioned above that there has come down to us one of these charts printed in 1529 by Nickel Schirlentz at Wittenberg, containing the Morning and Evening Prayers in Low German (Weim. Ed. 30, 1, p. 241). Then we have the book edition of the Low German charts by Bugenhagen for Hamburg published during April, 1529 (reprinted in Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 243ff.). The third Low German edition we have in the bilingual school edition of the Small Catechism by Major (cf. Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 590ff. 688ff.). It was a Latin-Low German edition; Major's preface was dated July 1, 1531. Here we have for the first time a complete edition of the Small Catechism in Low German; even the Table of Duties (13 sections as in the first Latin translations of 1529), the introduction to the Lord's Prayer, the section on Confession (according to the High German edition of 1531) are not missing although Confession does not precede but follows the Fifth Chief Part; only Luther's Preface is lacking, because it is a

school edition. Of the original edition no copy is extant, but we still have copies of at least 17 later editions that left the press before 1600.

Of special importance is the fourth Low German edition printed by Hans Walther at Magdeburg, 1534, as nearly all the other Low German editions of the 16th century are based on this edition, adding, however, the introduction to the Lord's Prayer and its explanation that was missing in 1534. Its title was: *Catechismus, edder Christlike tucht vor de gemenen Parhern unde Predigers. Gebetert unde gemeret. Mit einer nyen Bicht. Martinus Luther gedruecket tho Magdeburg, By Hans Walther.* At the end: *M. D. XXXIIII.* Here we find also Luther's preface, the Marriage- and Baptism-Booklet; the section on Confession (1531) follows the latter; two prayers bring the book to its close. The addition in the title *edder Christlike tucht* is retained from Luther's own first High German book edition (May 16); the note *Gebetert unde gemeret* recalls the same note in the High German edition of June 13; the note *Mit einer nyen Bicht* proves that a former Magdeburg edition in Low German contained another form of Confession which could have been none other than that of June 13, which fact at the same time would explain why in our print of 1534 the Confession is given after the Baptism Booklet, for just there it is where the edition of June 13, 1529 had placed its section on Confession. It is also possible that the 1534 Magdeburg edition is a reprint of one printed there in 1531, which was made when the 1531 edition became known to the Magdeburg printer. The printer may have discovered it, too late to embody the Introduction to the Lord's Prayer in his work, yet early enough to add the new section on Confession at the end of the booklet. However that may be, it is certain that the Magdeburg edition of 1534 had Magdeburg predecessors, and that other Low German editions, unknown today, appeared between that of Hamburg 1529 and that of Magdeburg 1534 (aside from G.

Major's bilingual Catechism). We hold that three were lost: one that followed the text of May 16; another making use of the text of June 13; while the third one employed at least part of the June 13 text. It is probable that the Magdeburg edition of 1534 is a reprint of the latter. Besides the Low German translations of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children containing the text of the Small Catechism (Reu, I, 2 p. 292*; I, 3 p. 364*) and their reprints, and besides the great number of Georg Major's bilingual school editions, the Low German Magdeburg edition of 1534 was offered to the public between 1534 and 1599 in at least 15 separate editions (with the Introduction to the Lord's Prayer Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 693ff.). This does not include the very peculiar Rostock edition of 1556 (Reu, I, 3 pp. 424*ff.). Eleven of these editions retain on the title page the addition *edder Christlike Tucht,* eight of them even add *Enchiridion*: *Enchiridion, De kleine Catechismus, edder Christlike Tucht.*

(2). **Latin translations.** Latin was the language of the Latin school. Since the Small Catechism was intended for the school as well as for the church and home, translations into Latin were necessary. The 16th century brought forth four different translations, two of which appeared in 1529. The first one we find in *Enchiridion piarum precationum Mar. Luth. Wittemberg,* at the end: *Wittenbergae, apud Jo. Lufft, Anno M D XXIX,* that is, in the Latin edition of Luther's Booklet of Prayers, a copy of which was sent Aug. 31, 1529 by Roerer to his friend Roth. Here we find the Catechism, under the heading *Simplicissima & brevissima Catechismi expositio* at the end of the book preceded by the Preface which, however, is not designated as a preface nor as a part of the Catechism, but in the index to the book is called *Epistola ad parochos & concionatores.* Under the heading of *Simplicissima et brevissima Catechismi expositio* are printed the Five Chief Parts, Morning and Evening Prayers, Benedicite and Gratias, and the

Table of Duties with 13 sections. The introduction to the Lord's Prayer is missing, as it did not originate before 1531, also the Confession, not only the one of 1531, but also the one of 1529. The peculiar characteristic of this first translation is that it is almost entirely divested of the question and answer form, only in the Fifth and, partly, in the Fourth Chief Parts is it retained. The First Commandment reads as follows: *Non habebis Deos alienos. Hoc est, debemus prae omnibus timere et amare Deum inque solum Deum confidere;* and the third section of Baptism: *Qui potest aqua tantas res conficere? Respondeo. Aqua sine dubio nunquam ista efficiet, sed verbum Dei, quod in et cum aqua est, item fides, quae huic verbo, quod aquae est additum, firmiter credit etc.* Some thought this would be a proof for the absence of this form in Luther's original manuscript, but from Stiefel's copy of the charts we know definitely that this is wrong. Already in the chart edition Luther employed the question and answer form throughout. Perhaps the translator removed the question and answer form because he published the translation not as an instruction book for the young, but as part of the Booklet of Prayers. The Short Form contained in this Booklet since 1522 also lacks the questions. We do not know with certainty who furnished the translation, probably G. Major in collaboration with Roerer. As this first Latin translation was important for Scandinavia, we find it reprinted by A. Chr. Bang in *Documenter og studier verdrorende Den lutherske katekismus historie i Nordens kirker, vol. II,* 1899, but also by Knoke in *D. M. L's Kl. Kat. in seinen aeltesten Ausgaben,* 1904, and in Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 282ff. In Germany this translation appeared again in two later editions of the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum;* in the Latin-High German edition of Major's school catechism, of which six are known to us (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 691ff.); in the Latin-Low German editions of this school catechism (Introduction to the Lord's Prayer and Confession were added), of which 17

are known (before 1600); in five Nuernberg editions (1537-1566) and in a Wittenberg (1532) and Strassburg school edition (1536), cf. Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 699ff. In a goodly number of these editions the translation is revised. The translation is rather free, sometimes paraphrasing, sometimes abbreviating, usually, however, rendering the original correctly. It was a strange mistake when the *Amen* of the Lord's Prayer was taken as a promise of God: *Amen, Amen, certo tibi omnia illa donabuntur.* Because of its connection with the Latin edition of the Booklet of Prayers this first translation was of great importance in the spreading of Luther's Catechism abroad (cf. below, Chapter 6).

For the following decades, even centuries, the second Latin translation was of greater importance; in Germany it became **the** Latin translation of Luther's Small Catechism. Its title is: *Paruus Catechismus Pro Pueris in Schola. Parue puer, paruum tu ne contemme libellum, Continet hic summi Dogmata summa Dei. Mart. Luther. M. D. XXIX;* at the end: *Finis. Vvittembergae, apud Georgium Rhau. Anno M. D. XXIX* (reprinted by Knoke l. c. and in Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 283-339). First printed in the beginning of September, and then again at the end of September, for on the reverse side of the title page we find, in distinction from the first edition, the dedicatory epistle of the translator, Johannes Sauermann, to Hermann Crotus Rubianus with the date: *III. Calendis Octobis.* This translation was made and published *autoris consilio ac iussu.* As the dedicatory epistle states, Joh. Sauermann (not Joh. Sauermann of Breslau—he had died in 1510—, but very probably *Johannes Sauermann de cupferberg dioc. Bambergensi,* cf. Foerstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis,* 1841 p. 125) rendered the Latin version *ut pueris, qui primum in Scholam latinam formandi traduntur discendus proponeretur.* And because it was to be a school edition, he changed the title, left out Luther's preface to the preachers and pastors, changed the

various headings of the several parts replacing the words: *Wie ein Hausvater, etc.* by *Quo facto paedagogi suos pueros . . . . simplicissime docere debeant,* did not include the Marriage nor Baptism Booklet, but retained the short Confession of June 13, putting it between Baptism and Lord's Supper, and gave on his first page after the title leaf the alphabet, vowels, and consonants, in order that the pupil might learn to read them, and the mere text of the Five Chief Parts, before he printed Luther's Small Catechism, that is, the text with Luther's explanations. The Table of Duties consists of 13 sections. Then follow *Elementa christianae religionis coniecta in versiculos per Joannem Sauromannum,* table prayers by Melanchthon in verses, and three versified psalms (Ps. 4; 110; 112), also by Melanchthon. This translation is more literal than the one in *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum.* In how many Latin schools this version was introduced becomes apparent from the fact that between 1530 and 1546 not less than 17 editions left the press. If some of them (after 1536) are called *nuper auctus,* the addition is to be found not in the Catechism but only in the reading exercises. Even the introduction to the Lord's Prayer and the Confession of 1531 have been added at a very late date, as it seems not before 1546, and probably much later. From this one can see that the schoolmen of the 16th century were not very anxious to have the Latin Catechism correspond exactly with the German. Besides these 17 editions here mentioned, we find Sauermann's text in three other publications issued for school use between 1530 and 1546. And between 1546 and 1600, according to Albrecht's list (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 7041), we know no less than 32 editions, and even this list is hardly complete. To this surprising number are to be added most of the bilingual and polyglot editions of Luther's Small Catechism, because all of them (except Major's) contain Sauermann's text, and in addition many Latin expositions of the Small Catechism, which are carefully described in our

*Quellen* I. 1, 2, 3. Even in the 18th century Sauermann's version was printed again and again. It is noteworthy also that the text of the Small Catechism in the *Concordia* of 1584 is based on Sauermann.

The author of the **third** Latin translation was Justus Jonas. When in 1539 he translated the Nuernberg Sermons for Children into Latin he became at the same time a translator of Luther's Small Catechism, because this is incorporated in these sermons. The book appeared again 1543. But at Nuernberg two separate editions of this translation also left the press, containing only Luther's Catechism, 1539 and 1540. The version of Jonas retained most of the peculiarities of Osiander's rendition of Luther's text (cf. Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 403-411 and 711-713). It was of little influence in Germany, but became important for England, Poland, and Iceland, perhaps also for Scandinavia.

Of the **fourth** Latin translation Knoke wrote (1. c. p. 30), that it was not so much used and circulated. He did not know the facts as they have since been brought to light by Albrecht (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 714-718) and myself (Reu, 1, 2 pp. 115-117, reprinted I, 2, pp. 579-587). It is a Latin-Greek edition, that appeared 1560 at Basel and Nuernberg, 1562 at Basel, 1565 at Nuernberg, 1568 at Strassburg, 1571 at Leipzig, 1580, 1583 and 1586 at Strassburg, 1589 at Leipzig (again 1630). The author is Hiob Magdeburg. He confined himself to the Five Chief Parts, even the Confession is not given. It is an original translation, but has this in common with the first Latin translation, namely, that it divested the catechism of its form of questions and answers. We note a few sections: *Timendus prae omnibus, et amandus Deus est, et in illum omnis collocanda fiducia.—Credo me cum tota rerum universitate a Deo creatum esse, qui corpus mihi et animam, oculos, aures, et reliqua membra, nec non rationem, sensusque omnes, et largitus est, et conservat. Vestibus mihi insuper*

*et calciamentis, cibo et potu, aedibus, uxore et liberis, agris, pecoribus, et caeteris bonis, at conservandam vitam necessariis, abunde cotidie prospicit. Proque sua paterna et divina benignitate atque misericordia, praeter meum meritum, indignum me in omnibus periculis protegit, et in adversis tuetur ac defendit. Ob quae beneficia et gratias illi debeo maximaximas, et celebrandus a me, summaque oboedientia colendus est. Haec certa et verissima sunt.*

(3) **Greek Translations.** In the higher grades of the Latin schools the Small Catechism was used in Greek. We know of four different Greek translations. The **first** has been furnished by Joh. Mylius and Mich. Neander and was printed together with the Latin version of Sauermann, at Basel 1556, 1558, 1564, 1567 and 1578 at Wittenberg. The Table of Duties is missing and the Confession is given in the form of June 13, 1529. In our "Quellen" we proved that it was in use in many schools.—The **second** Greek translation was that of Hiob Magdeburg mentioned above and reprinted in 1, 2 pp. 579-587.—The **third** Greek translation is a thorough revision of the first by Mylius himself as it was printed in Clajus' Polyglot edition between 1572 and 1599 not less than 17 times.—The **fourth** Greek translation is based on the first, its author is Nic. Selneccer, and it is a part of his learned commentary on Luther's Catechism, called *Catechesis,* Leipzig 1575, 1577 and 1583, or of his *Institutio Christiana,* of which the Catechesis is a part (1579).

4. **Hebrew and Polyglot editions.** When the fundamentals of Hebrew were mastered in the higher schools the Catechism was also studied in Hebrew. While we do not know of a separate Hebrew print of the Five Parts with Luther's explanation, we have the translation of Joh. Clajus in his polyglot edition of 1572 (German, Latin, Greek, Hebrew). It was for the sake of the school that he furnished the translation, but also for the sake of the Jews who might learn the Christian fundamentals by means of his Hebrew version of the Catechism (Weim. Ed. 30,

1 pp. 723-725; Reu, I, 2, pp. 232-235 and pp. 328-330 where the Second Article is reprinted). As mentioned above we know of 17 editions of this polyglot. In 1599 Conrad Neander brought it out in a revised form of which we note the later editions of 1602, 1608, 1611, 1619, 1623, 1629, 1660.—For curiosity's sake we mention this Hamburg print of 1593: *Kuenstlich New A B C Buch, Daraus ein Junger Knabe die noetigsten vier Hauptsprachen Ebraisch, Griecisch, Lateinisch, Deutsch Zugleich so leicht, als ein alleine, mit grossem vortheil lesen lernen kan, allgemeiner Christlichen Jugend zum besten angestellet Durch Eliam Hutherum. Gedruckt zu Hamburg durch Ernst Jandeck* 1593. It consists of the text of the Five Chief Parts without Luther's explanation, the Morning and Evening Prayers, Benedicite and Gratias in the four mentioned languages. Separate editions of these parts in German, German-Latin, Greek-Latin, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syrian or Aramaic are recorded in I, 3 pp. 269*-270 and 201. The polyglot edition of Caspar Laudismann, 1615, in which Luther's Catechism can be found in German, Latin, French, and Italian (I, 3 p. 286*), belongs into a different period, than the one considered in this chapter. Also the Stockholm edition in eight languages, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Italian, French, Bohemian, and Swedish (cf. G. Adde's bibliography in: H. Lundstroem, *Historisk-Kritisk Utredning angäende Luthers Lilla Katekes,* Stockholm, 1917, p. 394).

(5). **German, Latin, and Greek Versifications of Luther's Small Catechism.** At a time when Humanistic teachers had made it a part of the regular schoolwork to train the pupils in the art of versification, we are not in the least surprised to hear of versifications of Luther's Small Catechism in Latin and even Greek. Albrecht enumerates six Latin and three Greek versifications (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 726 ff.) and we ourselves added a good deal more (1, 2, pp. 113-115, 119, 208, 213, 478, 479, etc., I, 3, pp. 232f., 494 etc.) and reprinted some of them.

We also know of two German, entirely valueless, versifications (Motschild, 1539, and Daubmann, 1569; Weim. Ed. 30, 1 p. 726; Reu I, 2 p. 472*; I, 3 pp. 18* f.). We can prove that the Latin and Greek versions were really used in some schools.

(6). **Translations of the Small Catechism for German subjects of foreign tongue.** Convinced of the truth of the confession expressed in Luther's Small Catechism and of the duty of preaching the truth to every one in his native tongue, magistrates and princes, preachers and teachers felt themselves in duty bound to give the Catechism in their native tongue to those of their subjects that could not use the German or Latin language. When the French speaking Lutherans who were driven out of Antwerp settled in **Frankfurt** on the Main, they received a French-German edition of the Small Catechism (I, 2, pp. 461*f.). Practically the same thing happened in **Wesel** on the Lower Rhine, where many Dutch speaking fugitives had gathered. Presently Luther's Small Catechism appeared in Dutch for them and for those Lutherans who had remained in the Netherlands; even the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, those excellent expositions of the Small Catechism, were printed in Dutch (cf. I, 3 pp. 1703-1712 and I, 3 pp. 450*ff.)[1]—On the islands west of Schleswig **(North Frisian Islands)** the language spoken was the North Frisian dialect. The pastors translated Luther's Small Catechism into this dialect. In the *Jahrbuch des Vereins fuer niederdeutsche Sprachforschung* (1922 pp. 53 ff.) two of these translations are reprinted, in Reu, I, 3, pp. 1690-1696 one of them, for the island of Strand, which

[1]If we in I, 3 pp. 450* ff. designated Wesel as a territory in which Dutch was the native language of the people, this needs the correction, which has already been made in our article: "Luthers Katechismus am Niederrhein" in the anniversary volume for D. L. Ihmels, 1928. The Dutch catechetical works appearing in Wesel were meant for the Dutch fugitives who had fled to Wesel and for the Lutherans in the Netherlands.

was almost entirely destroyed by the flood of 1634.—In Saxony lies the district of Lusatia (Lausitz), where the last remnants of the old **Wends** resided, still speaking their Slavic dialect. In 1574 Luther's Small Catechism together with the Marriage and Baptism Booklet was translated into that idiom, and is its first literary monument. Here the Wendish language, spoken in Lower Lusatia, was used. In 1597 the Catechism was also translated into the dialect spoken in Upper Lusatia, being again the first book in that idiom (Weim. Ed. 30, 1 pp. 799 f.; Reu I, 2 p. 172*).—In the Eastern part of Pomerania remnants of other Slavic tribes were living, called **Cassubs** (Kassuben). In 1563 a translation of the Small Catechism into their language was printed at Wittenberg in 300 copies (Reu, I, 3 p. 256*.—In the Duchy of **Prussia** the natives could not understand German. It is touching to learn how deeply the duke Albrecht was interested in providing them with pastors and books they could understand. In 1545 two bilingual booklets were published containing the texts of the Chief Parts in Old-Prussian and German, and in 1561 and 1569 the full text of the Small Catechism was printed for them (Reu, I, 3 pp. 39-42). These books are again the oldest monuments of that language.—And the **Poles** living in the southern part of the Duchy were not forgotten either. For their sake several of the Polish translations of the Small Catechism were published at Koenigsberg; we mention the Polish versions of Radomski (1562) and Hier. Maletius (1571, 1574, 1588, 1593), and the Polish edition of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, 1561 (Reu, 1, 3 pp. 54-60*).—Duke Albrecht also had the Small Catechism translated into **Lithuanian,** as some of his subjects spoke that (cf. below).

**First Latin Translation** as it is found in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum* of 1529: 1. Non habebis Deo alienos. Hoc est, debemus prae omnibus timere et amare Deum inque solum Deum confidere.—2. Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum. Hoc est, debemus Deum timere et amare, nemini per sacrum eius nomen mala imprecari,

non iurare, non magicam exercere, non mentiri, non fallere, sed in omnibus nostris malis invocare nomen Dei, orare, laudare, gratias agere.—3. Memento, ut diem Sabbati sanctifices. Hoc est, debemus Deum timere et amare, divinum eius verbum non contemnere aut negligere, sed illud potius magnificare et venerari, libenter tum audire ab alijs tum alios docere.—4. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam. Hoc est, debemus Deum timere et amare, parentes nostros, item illos qui in nos habent ius et imperium, non contemnere nec offendere, sed habere illis honorem, servire eis, obsequi, colere et revereri eos.—5. Non occides. Hoc est, debemus timere et amare Deum, nostri proximi corpus non laedere nec ulla afficere iniuria, sed iuvare et adesse illi in omnibus vitae periculis.—6. Non moechaberis. Hoc est, debemus timere et amare Deum, castam et modestam agere vitam, nihil inmodestum neque dicere neque facere, suam quisque uxorem diligere et colere.—7. Furtum non facies. Hoc est, debemus timere et amare Deum, aliorum fortunas non eripere vi neque corruptis mercibus aut fraude aliqua ad nos transferre, sed promovere aliorum commoda, tueri, defendere.—8. Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium. Hoc est, debemus timere et amare Deum, non deferre alios falso, non prodere, non obtrectare aliis, aliorum famam non denigrare, sed excusare eos, bene de eis sentire et loqui, omnia in meliorem accipere partem.—9. Non concupisces domum proximi tui. Hoc est, debemus timere et amare Deum, non fraude aut dolis in proximi haereditatem aut fortunas irrepere, neque etiamsi quaedam iuris species favere nobis videatur, ad nos transferre, sed potius iuvare eum, ut suas fortunas retineat integras.—10. Non desiderabis uxorem eius, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum nec omnia quae illius sunt. Hoc est, debemus Deum timere et amare, proximi neque uxorem neque servos nec iumenta ad nos arte aliqua transferre, non vel vi vel dolo aliquo eos ab aliis abalienare, sed monere et cohortari potius, ut in servitio, quod dominis debent, remaneant.—De his praeceptis omnibus sic dicit Deus Exo. 20: Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, fortis, Zelotes, visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum qui oderunt me, et faciens misericordiam in milia his qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea. Graviter hic comminatur Deus omnibus illis, qui ista praecepta violant et excedunt. Debemus igitur eius metuere iram et servare haec praecepta. Contra promittit quoque gratiam et omnia bona illis, qui praecepta haec servant, Quare amare et confidere nos illi convenit et sequi mandata ipsius.

**Second Latin Translation,** *by Joh. Sauermann,* 1529. Quo pacto

Paedagogi suos pueros Decem Praecepta simplicissime docere debeant. —1. Non habebis deos alienos.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Nos debemus Deum super omnia timere, diligere et illi confidere.—2. Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ut ne per nomen eius maledicamus, iuremus, incantemus, mentiamur aut dolis fallamus, Sed in omni necessitate illud invocemus, adoremus et cum gratiarum actione laudemus.—3. Memento, ut diem Sabbati sanctifices.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne divinos sermones, eius verbum contemnamus, Sed ut sanctum reputemus, libenter audiamus et discamus.—4. Honore patrem et matrem, ut sis longevus super terram.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne parentes et dominos nostros contemnamus neque ad iram commoveamus, Sed honore afficiamus, illis serviamus, morem geramus, amore eos prosequamur et magnifaciamus.—5. Non occides.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne vitae proximi nostri incommodemus aut aegre faciamus, Sed illum adiuvemus et promoveamus in omnibus vitae necessitatibus. —6. Non moechaberis.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ut caste et pudice vivamus in verbis ac operibus, ut unusquisque suam coniugem amet et honoret.—7. Non furtum facies.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne proximo suam pecuniam aut sua bona auferamus neque falsis mercibus aut impostura ad nos pertrahamus, Sed demus operam, ut illius opes conserventur et eius conditio melior reddatur.—8. Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium. —Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne proximum falsis mendacijs involvamus, prodamus, traducamus aut infamia aliqua afficiamus, Sed illum excusemus, aliquid boni de eo loquamur, omnia in meliorem partem interpretantes.—9. Non concupisces domum proximi tui.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne haereditatem vel domum proximi dolo malo captemus et sub specie recti nostris facultatibus adiungamus, Sed detur opera sedulo, ut ista proximo diligenter custodiantur. —10. Nec desiderabis uxorem eius . . . quae illius sunt.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—Responsio. Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne a proximo uxorem, servos, ancillas vel pecudes suos abalienemus aut abstrahamus, Sed illos adhortari oportet, ut maneant et suum officium diligenter faciant.—Quid autem summatim dicit Deus de his praeceptis omnibus? —Responsio. Sic dicit Exo. XX: Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, fortis, zelotes . . . custodiunt praecepta mea.—Quid hoc sibi vult?—

Responsio. Deus minatur poenam omnibus, qui ista praecepta transgrediuntur. Debemus itaque expavescere et timere iram Dei et nihil contra eiusmodi praecepta facere. Rursus promittit etiam suam gratiam et omnia bona omnibus, qui mandata observant. Merito igitur debemus nos Deum diligere et illi confidere et iuxta mandata eius omnem nostram vitam sedulo et diligenter instituere.

**Third Latin Translation,** by *Justus Jonas* in his translation of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, 1539. We omit the text of the Commandments. 1. Hic praecipitur, ut Deum ex toto corde timeamus, diligamus et illi confidamus.—2. Deum super omnia timere debemus et diligere, ut nomine illius non abutamur ad idolatriam, ad incantationes, periurium, detestationes, ut non ad scurriles iocos abutamur nomine Dei, non ad imposturas, sed ut illud in omnibus necessitatibus invocemus, confiteamur, magnifaciamus et celebremus.—3. Dominum Deum timere et diligere debemus super omnia, ut contiones et verbum eius non contemnamus, sed hoc reverenter et sedulo audiamus et discamus.—4. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus, ut propter ipsum nostros parentes, praeceptores, dominos non contemnamus, sed eos honoremus, eis obediamus omnique reverentia ipsos colamus.—5. Dominum Deum nostrum timere debemus et diligere super omnia, ut propter ipsum proximi vitae non insidiemur, in corpore eum non laedamus, sed eum in omnibus necessitatibus consolemur, sustentemus et adiuvemus.—6. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus et propter ipsum caste vivere in verbis, operibus, affectibus, et quilibet coniugem suam diligere et honorare.—7. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus et propter ipsum libenter a bonis et rebus proximi abstinere, ut proximi bona et pecuniam non rapiamus, sed ut studeamus et augendis et conservandis bonis proximi.—8. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus et propter ipsum abstinere ab omni perfidia, mendacio, obtrectatione, proditione, omnibus quibus laedi proximus possit, et ipsum excusare, optima quaeque de eo loqui, omnia in optimam partem interpretari.—9. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus, ut propter ipsum abstineamus ab aucupanda domo, possessionibus proximi, aut ulla specie honesti occupanda, sed ut in illa retinenda eum adiuvemus.—10. Dominum Deum super omnia timere et diligere debemus, ut propter ipsum libenter abstineamus ab uxore, familia, peccoribus proximi, ut in illis conservandis et retinendis eum adiuvemus.—Epilogus. Deus cominatur punire omnes, qui haec mandata transgrediuntur. Ideo exhorrescere debemus illius iram et non peccare contra haec mandata. Promittit autem gratiam et bene-

dictionem omnibus, qui haec mandata servant. Ideo debemus eum diligere et illi confidere et illius praeceptis parere.

**Fourth Translation,** by *Hiob Magdeburg,* 1560. 1. Timendus prae omnibus et amandus Deus est et in illum omnis collocanda fiducia.—2. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne quem sub nomine eius execremur, ne iuremus, ne magorum artes exerceamus, ne mendaciis et fraude aliquem fallamus: sed in omnibus rebus adversis illud nomen ut invocemus, oremus, laudemus, illique agamus gratias.—3. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne sacras conciones et ipsius verbum negligamus: sed ut illud sancte veneremur, libenter audiamus et discamus.—4. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne parentes nostros et dominos despiciamus, neve ad iracundiam illos provocemus: sed ut in summo honore illos habeamus, illis serviamus et obsequamur, ita ut cari nobis sint et in precio.—5. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne violemus corpus proximi aut in ipsum iniuriosi simus: sed ut opitulemur illi et adsimus laboranti quavis corporis molestia.—6. Timendus ac amandus Deus est, ut casti simus et modesti cum in sermone tum in reliqua vita: et ut diligamus singuli coniuges eosque colamus.—7. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne proximi nostri pecuniam aut bona surripiamus aut fucosis mercibus aliisque actionibus fraudulentis nobis ea vendicemus: sed ad augendas facultates eius et conservandam rem familiarem prompti simus.—8. Timendus ac amandus Deus est, ne de proximo dicamus mendacium aut iniuste illum deferamus neve existimationem eius violemus linqua futili: sed ut illum excusemus, bene de illo loquamur et in meliorem partem interpretemur omnia.—9. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne aedes et bona proximi dolo et fraude appetamus neve iuris aliqua specie occupemus ipsi: sed ad conservanda ea ut prompti et parati simus.—10. Timendus et amandus Deus est, ne ulla ratione abalienemus et nos alliciamus uxorem proximi, servos aut quicquam ex ipsius familia: sed ut monendo eos retineamus in officio.—Conclusio. Minatur Deus poenas omnibus iis qui has leges perrumpunt. Itaque eius ira nobis metuenda est, ne ab iis discedamus. Gratiam vero suam et amplissima praemia proponit omnibus satisfacientibus. Ob quam causam diligendus est et in ipsum omnis collocanda fiducia et libenti animo legi divinae parendum.

# 5. Expositions of Luther's Small Catechism Between 1530 and 1600 and Its Reception Among the Confessional Writings

IT IS surprising to learn of the great number of catechetical writings in this period, many of them being expositions of Luther's Small Catechism. Most of this literature was "a closed garden into which only a few had glimpsed," till our *Quellen zur Geschichte d. kirchlichen Unterrichts zwischen* 1530 *und* 1600 (now 8 vols.) appeared. This work shows in most detailed form when Luther's Small Catechism was introduced into the various provinces of Germany, in what way it was used in church, school, and home, what expositions and other auxiliary works have been published and in how many editions each one appeared. Space does not permit the writer here even to sketch all these various efforts. But a few may be named. The first exposition of the Small Catechism, and a most excellent one at that, is found in the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, by Andreas Osiander and Dominicus Sleupner (not by Brenz or Veit Dietrich), published separately and together with the Nuernberg *Kirchenordnung* of 1533 (repr. by Reu, I, 1, pp. 462-564). No other exposition was of greater influence within Germany and beyond its boundaries during the 16th century and after. It was translated into Low German 1534, Latin 1539, English 1548, Dutch 1558, Polish 1561, Icelandic 1562, and officially introduced in Nuernberg and Brandenburg-Ansbach 1533, in Brandenburg and Mecklenburg 1540, in Brunswick-Calenberg 1543, in the Duchy of Prussia 1554, in England 1548, and used in many other churches of Germany and

beyond (e. g. in the Baltic Provinces). In its Latin translation its influence was felt in Scandinavia and when the book was translated 1562 into Icelandic, it was certainly also used there.

Of the other *Sermons on Luther's Catechism* those especially noteworthy are by Cyriacus Spangenberg (Erfurt, 1565, Schmalkalden, 1566, Erfurt, 1567, 1568, Magdeburg 1568, 1570, Ursel, 1572, 1580, 1592, Wittenberg, 1602), Christoph Vischer (Schmalkalden, 1573), Simon Musaeus (Ursel, 1568, Thorn, 1569, Frankfurt, 1569, 1571, 1575, 1580, 1589), and Andr. Celichius (1581, 1599). All of them, especially Spangenberg and Musaeus, are models of popular treatises on the Catechism in sermon form.

Of those expositions that explain the Small Catechism in the form of questions and answers we mention Tetelbach, Moerlin, Rosinus, J. Spangenberg, Huberinus, Jacobi, Marbach, Bischoff, Karg, Wolffhart, Loener, Mechler, Geo. Walther, Friederich, Boethius, Krentzheim. Tetelbach's *Das Gueldene Kleinod. D. Martini Lutheri Catechismus* ranks very high; it is thorough and yet simple, it does not drag in dogmatical material and learned terminology but confines itself to Luther's text and is an excellent guide into the religious and moral depths of this Golden Treasure, the result of long teaching experience at Chemnitz. It was published in 1568 when its author had left Saxony and become pastor at Schwandorf in Bavaria. We have seen the following editions: Regensburg, 1568; Frankfurt, 1571, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1582, 1590, 1596, 1601, 1603, Jena, 1591; another edition was printed at Muehlhausen; 1623 it appeared in Low German; the exposition of Opitz, Raudte, Aumann, and others were based upon it (reprinted by Reu, I, pp. 667-712). Its influence can be traced in Bavaria, Hessia, Thuringia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hannover, and Sweden. A very noteworthy exposition was also that of Joachim Moerlin. Originally written and published for Goettingen (1547), it was later used in the Duchy of Brunswick, in the

Duchy of Prussia, in Thuringia, etc. We note beside the original edition of 1547 these editions: Magdeburg, 1554, Leipzig; 1556, Eisleben, 1562 and 1566, Heinrichsstadt, 1584 and 1599 (repr. in I, 1 pp. 858-894). Karg's explanation, based on the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, was in continuous use after 1556 for about three centuries in Brandenburg-Ansbach (repr. in I, 1 pp. 578-596). Loener (1544) regularly adduces examples from Biblical History, Geo. Walther at Halle (1581) makes use of the Hymns of the Church, Victorius (1591) gives to each part a corresponding Biblical picture, prints the story from which the picture is taken and cites appropriate passages from Scriptures. So all the elements deemed necessary today for a fruitful treating of the Catechism were already in use in the 16th century, although employed very inadequately. Rosinus (Regensburg, 1580, 1581, Erfurt, 1595, incorporated into the Torgau, 1594, and Weimar catechism, 1590, and here reprinted up to 1676, and again 1727) arranges the Six Parts of the Catechism (the Office of the Keys he counts as Fifth Part, between Baptism and Lord's Supper) for the six days of the week and prescribes what psalms, hymns, etc., are to be used in connection with the recitation of the Catechism in the morning and evening (cf. I, 1 pp. 743-755). Bischoff's exposition (Schmalkalden, 1599) was the last brought forth in the 16th century and is to be counted among the best; it starts with the blessed fact of Baptism and carries this thought through the whole book; it stresses the necessity of the evangelical nature of our observance of the Commandments by inserting this question and answer: *Warum steht im Anfang der Auslegung eines jeden Gebots: 'Wir sollen Gott fuerchten und lieben'? Antwort:Darum dass allein die Herzen, welche Gott Wahrhafftig fuerchten und lieben, sich vor suenden wider seine Gebote hueten und dargegen nach denselbigen zu leben befleissigen; mit den andern ists lauter Heuchelei, ob sie sich schon aeusserlich fromm stellen* (cf. I, 2 p. 82; pp. 211-243). While

the Latin catechetical writings, especially those influenced by Melanchthon, dragged into the instruction of the young too much material of dogmatical nature, the German explanations and treatises were more free from such unchildlike additions.

The text of Luther's Small Catechism is in most cases that of 1531, with or without the section on the Office of the Keys. Sometimes, however, the text is treated very freely. This holds true especially of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, of the catechism of Justus Menius (1532; Reu, I, 2 pp. 165-173), the smaller catechism of Johann Spangenberg (1541, 1543, 1549, 1553, 1562; Reu, I, 2, pp. 285-299), of Marbach's edition for Strassburg (1557 (?), 1559, 1560, 1562 (?), 1564, 1568, 1578, 1580, 1598; Reu, I, 1 pp. 141-155), and of a Rostock edition of 1556 (Reu, I, 3 pp. 428-438). All the alterations in the Nuernberg Sermons are noted in Reu, *A New English Translation etc.* 1926; we call attention to the insertion of the Office of the Keys, the introduction of the Ten Commandments, although connected with the First Commandment, the form of the Third Commandment being a literal translation of the form retained in the Latin versions of the Small Catechism, namely: *Gedenke des Sabbaths, dass du ihn heiligest,* and the insertion of *um seinetwillen* in the explanation of several Commandments, e. g. *Wir sollen Gott den Herrn ueber alle dinge fuerchten und lieben, dass wir um seinetwillen unsere Eltern, etc.* Menius inserts the word *also* in the explanation of the Commandments, e. g. *Wir sollen Gott also fuerchten und lieben, dass wir, etc.,* he shortens all explanations in the Second and Third Chief Parts and, partly, in the Fourth. We note his form of the Second Article: *Ich glaube, dass Jesus Christus, wahrer Gottes und Marien Sohn, sei mein Herr worden, der mich verdammten Menschen von Suende, Tode und aller Gewalt des Teufels erloeset hat durch sein unschuldiges Leiden und Sterben, auf dass ich sein eigen sei, ihm zu leben und zu dienen in ewiger Gerechtigkeit, gleichwie er auferstanden*

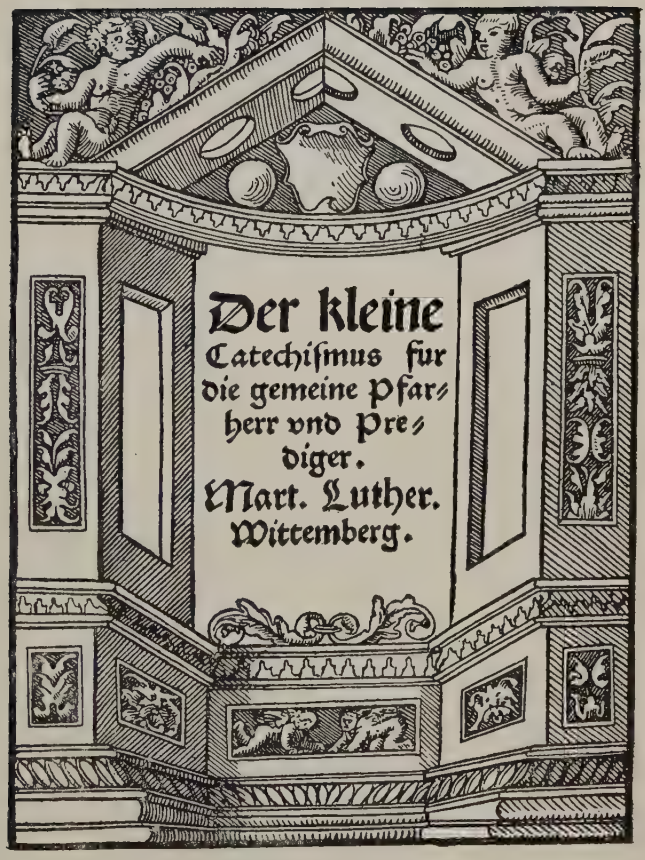


PLATE FOUR: Title page of the Erfurt reprint of the first Wittenberg book edition (May, 1529), 1529

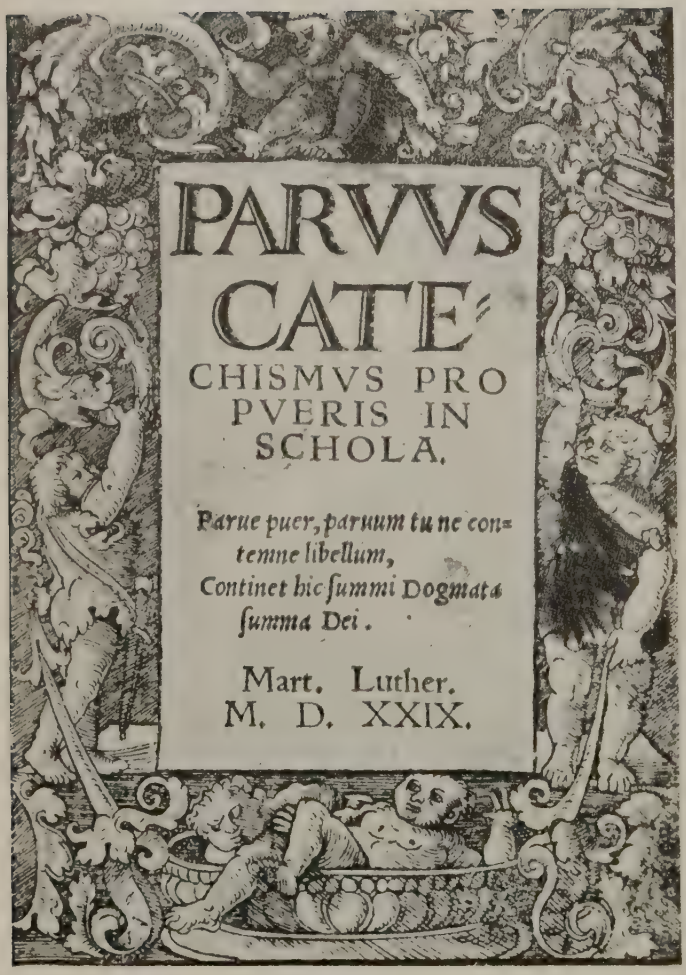


PLATE FIVE: Title page of the first edition of Sauermann's Latin translation, September, 1529

*ist vom Tode, lebet und regieret ewiglich. Das ist gewisslich wahr.* Spangenberg's alterations are similar to those of Menius, especially so in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Chief Part, less in the Second and still less in the First. In the Second the Creed is divided into 12 articles according to the traditional division of the Middle Ages; but when it is explained, Luther's division into three articles is adopted, the Table of Duties is treated in 38 questions. Marbach's edition for Strassburg, upon which is based the catechism for Ulm (1561), and that for Antwerp (1583), gives the Ten Commandments according to Exodus 20, retaining the full introduction, although connected with the First Commandment, the prohibition to worship images (Second Commandment), the original form of the commandment concerning the Sabbath (Fourth Commandment): *Gedenk des Feiertags, ihn zu heiligen. Sechs Tage etc.;* in the second part of the Catechism, however, where we find Luther's explanation—in the first part only the texts are given—it reads only: *Gedenk des Feiertags ihn zu heiligen.* Tenth Commandment: *Dich soll nicht geluesten deines Naechsten Haus. Dich soll nicht geluesten deines Naechsten Weibes etc.* Noteworthy is the First Article: *Ich glaube, dass mich Gott samt allen Creaturen geschaffen und zu seinem lieben Kind hat aufgenommen etc.;* the Fifth Petition: *Wir bitten in diesem Gebet um Verzeihung der Suenden, die wir taeglich tun, und dass unser Vater im Himmel nicht ansehen wolle solche unsere Suenden etc.* Still more remarkable is the Sixth Petition: *Gott versucht zwar niemand zum Verderben, sondern zu allem Guten. Darum bitten wir in diesem Gebet, etc.* The Seventh Petition reads: *Sondern erloese uns von dem Boesen . . . der Vater im Himmel vom Boesen Feind und allerlei Uebel Leibes, etc.* The doxology is given and thus explained: *Wenn wir also unseren Vater im Himmel in rechtem Glauben und Wahrheit anrufen und in dem bedenken, wie unser himmlischer Vater in uns sein Reich, alle Macht und Ehre haben solle, so*

*troeste ich mich desto mehr, er werde, wie wir bitten, sein Reich bei uns staerken und uns in allen Dingen kraeftiglich helfen, dass wir seine Herrlichkeit je mehr erkennen und in Ewigkeit loben und preisen.* Then follows *Amen* and its explanation by Luther. The Fourth and Fifth Part (Lord's Supper) show few and unimportant changes. The following section, however, is entirely new and is based on Butzer's catechism of 1543 which was in use in Strassburg, before the Lutheran movement through the influence of Marbach had set in (Reu, I, 1 pp. 94-96). It is headed: *Erklaerung der Wort von der Gewalt der Schluessel, Johannis am* 20., *und der Christlichen Busszucht, Matthaei am* 18, and called the Sixth Part of the Catechism. It has nothing in common with the three forms of the Office of the Keys mentioned above and instead of being based on John 20 and Matth. 16, it is an explanation of Matth. 18: 15-18, showing what brotherly and congregational discipline is and how it is to be exercised (Reu, I, 1 p. 150). The Table of Duties is divided into 8 parts and has 38 questions; it is taken over from Spangenberg.

Still much more peculiar is the Rostock edition of 1556, carefully described in I, 3 pp. 424-438 on the basis of the only and very incomplete copy remaining. Like many other editions it contains in the first part only the bare texts of the Chief Parts and gives the explanation in the second. It consists of seven Chief Parts, of which the Fifth treats of the Power of the Keys and Absolution, the Sixth of the Lord's Supper, and the Seventh: *Van guden Wercken und van der Hustafel.* A few other, independent, catechetical writings had a section on Good Works before 1556, but no edition of Luther's Small Catechism. The text of Luther has been treated with amazing freedom. Space does not permit a more extended treatment so we refer those interested to our *Quellen.*

Thus it is evident that the Small Catechism in the 16th century has often been treated, even by staunch Lutherans, with

a liberty few of us would dare to exercise today. The change in attitude took place when the Small Catechism acquired the character of a Confessional Writing, but even then only very gradually. During the 16th century it was incorporated into a number of *Kirchenordnungen* (Church Orders and Agenda). We mention: Pfalz-Zweibruecken, 1557; Rothenburg, 1559; Goettingen, 1568; Pommerania, 1569; Saarwerden, 1574; Hohenlohe, 1577; Kurpfalz, 1577; Mansfeld, 1580; Brunswick-Luneburg, 1594; Strassburg, 1598; and in the form of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children: Nuernberg and Brandenburg-Ansbach, 1533, Brandenburg, 1540; Mecklenburg, 1540; Brunswick-Calenberg, 1542; Pfalz-Neuburg, 1543. And it has been incorporated into the following *Corpora Doctrinae*: *Pomeranicum,* 1564; *Thuringicum,* 1570; *Brandenburgicum,* 1572; *Wilhelminum,* 1576; *Julium,* 1576; and belonged after 1561 to the confessional writings acknowledged by the cities of Lower Saxony (*Lueneburger Articles*), and after 1573 to the *Normalbuecher* for Nuernberg and Brandenburg-Ansbach, after 1578 to those that had to be accepted by all ministers in Hohenlohe; in 1580 it was received into the German and in 1584 into the Latin *Concordia.* The German reprint in the *Concordia* follows 1531 with few changes, e. g. *missbrauchen* in the Second Commandment, omitting, however, the Marriage and Baptism Booklets. The Latin is as mentioned above based on Sauermann with some corrections (but the Third Commandment still reads: *Memento ut diem Sabbathi sanctifices*), the Preface follows the first Latin translation; *de Confessione, Quomodo simpliciores de ea erudiendi sint* (between Fourth and Fifth Chief Part) is a new translation; the Office of the Keys is not received, neither in the German nor Latin reprint. The title is: *Enchiridion. Der Kleine Catechismus D. Martini Lutheri fuer die gemeine Pfarherrn und Prediger.*

As the catechisms of the 16th century are not obtainable in America we append parts of them:

1. **From the Nuernberg Sermons for Children of 1533** (we use

Cranmer's translation of 1548): *First Article*—And first we will entreat of the creation, which is expressed in these wordes, I beleue in God the Father Almightie, maker of heauen and earth. Where note good children, that this worde (I beleue) signifieth asmuche in this place, as I trust. So that this sentence I beleue in God the Father, is asmuche to saye, as I trust in God the Father, and loke assuredly to receaue all good thinges at his hande. Wherefore this is the meanyng of the forsaid artycle that we ought to put oure trust in no creature, but in the true and liuying God only. For no creature can do vs any good or harme without the wil of hym. We oure selues made not oure selues (as it is writen in the Psalme) nor we can nether saue our selfes, nether delyuer vs from any perrell. Therfore we ought to put our trust in God only, sticke fast to him, hang vpon hym, and to loke for al good thinges at his hande. They therefore that trust in men, in their fauor or frendship, they that trust in their awne learnyng, wysedome, riches, power, frendes, or ani suche thing, they do not trulye beleue in God, truly and holly trust in him, nor loke for all good thinges from him, but rather dyspise him, and worship for their God and make an ydole of that thyng, wherin they put theyr trust, and so greuously offende God. Wherfore it must nedes be, that at the lenght they must be brought to confusion and ruine that they may lerne by their awne fall and decay, that those wer but vayne thinges, wherin they put their trust and confidence, and that onely God is the sure rocke and stay, vpon whom whosoeuer leaneth, shall not be deceaued nor confounded. For it is the Lord God, which dayly poureth vpon vs infinite benefites which, giueth vs al thinges that we haue nede of, and defendeth vs from all thinges that may hurte vs ether in bodi or in soule. And this is the fatherly loue which he bereth toward vs, to do all goodnes towarde vs without oure merites or deseruynges. Wherefore we ought to trust in him, yelde our selues holly into his protection to loke for all good thynges at his handes, and with a mery harte and constant fayth to cleaue to his goodnes in all thynges. And this is the highest and chiefest sacrifice wher with God is pleased and worshipped. And whosoeuver beleueth in him after this sorte, those he taketh for his welbelouyd children and in all thynges he declareth to them, that he is their louyng Father. Wherefore (good children) let vs not put our thrust in any creature, or in any worldly thing, but at al tymes let vs fasten our sure trust in our Lorde God. Se we shal be made his children, and enioy lyfe euerlastynge.

Nowe considre good children what a God he is, in whome we beleue, and in whom we put oure trust. He is God the Father, the

almyghtie maker of heauen and earth. And these woordes good children ought not slyghtly to be passed ouer, for they be of greate weight and importaunce. Wherfore I pray you as it were in balance to wey them diligently and learne to vnderstande theym. For these wordes conteine not in them worldly philosophie or mannes sapience, but heauenlye and godly wisedome. Wherfore I praye you gyue good eare whiles I do declare them to you.

First this article teacheth vs that God is almightie, that is to saye, that he hath power to worke and do al thinges what soeuer pleaseth him, and no creature in heauen or earth is able to let or withstande him, and that no thinge is vnpossible vnto him. And this is the foundacion and begynnynge of Christian knowledge and faith, to beleue that God is almightye, The which many men do not beleue, and yet neuertheles they wyl be counted Christen men, or rather great clarkes. In this number be they, that do not beleue the bodye of Christ truely to be gyuen in the Lordes supper, to theim that receaue the sacramente, althoughe Christe hymselfe sayeth playnely. Take, eate, this is my bodye. And why do they not beleue this? verely because they dyd neuer trulye beleue thys article, that God is almyghtie, but they thynke that God is not able to work or do that thing, which they can not compasse with their awne wit and reason.

But you good children folowe not suche, but beleue you, with all youre hearte, that God is almyghtye, that he is able to worke and do all thynge that he wylleth, and perfourme all thing that he speaketh or promiseth. And in so doyng you shall fynde great peace and quietnes in your consciences. For this is an excedyng comforte for vs, stedfastly to beleue this article that God is almyghtye. For hereby we be perswaded, in all perels and aduersities to put our trust in him, forsomoche as he is able to delyuer vs out of al troubles and affections, although they seme to mans reason remediles. Hereby also we are taught, to humble oure selues before God, and not to be proude, neyther to dyspyse or forget hym when all thinges goeth after our owne wyll, but to consyder that God is almightie, and able wyth a beck to ouerturne kingdomes, to cast downe the ryche, to exalte the poore, to punyshe the wicked, and to destroye vs yf we prouoke him to angre. Wherefore good chyldren marke well thys wourd, almyghty, whiche is as muche to saye as this. No man is so sore sycke, but God is able to heale hym. No man is so poore but God can make hym riche. No man is so symple or dul wytted, whom he is not able to make wyse. No man is so vyle or lytle regarded, but he is able to promote him to highe honours. No man is so greate a synner but he is able to iustifye hym. Wherefore

in all chaunces we must put our truste in God onelye. For he is able to do what soeuer he wylleth, and all thynge is subiecte vnder hys dominion.

2. **From Loener's Explanation of Luther's Catechism, 1544.**

*The Fifth Commandment.*—What does God forbid in the Fifth Commandment? He forbids, on pain of His divine displeasure, that we be wroth with our neighbor, harm him by manifestations of our anger, shameful or abusive words, or even turn hand to work him bodily or mortal injury, Matthew 5.—Give an example of that. Moses writes in the fourth chapter of his first book that Cain in anger slew his brother Abel, despite the reproof and admonition of God, and was grievously punished for it.—What does He command us to do in the Fifth Commandment? We should so love Him that we conciliate our neighbor whom we have offended, and cordially forgive him who has offended us, and help and befriend him in every bodily need, Matthew 5.—Give an example of that. Moses writes in the 45th chapter of his first book, that Joseph cordially forgave his brothers, who had indeed formerly intended to kill him, and sold him into Egypt, and showed them every kindness.

3. **From Moerlin's Explanation (1st edition 1547, revised 1562).**

*The First Article: Of Creation.*—Where will one learn to know God the Father? In the First Article of our Christian Creed: of Creation.—How does that read?—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.—What is meant by this Article?—I believe that God has created me—most certainly true."—How now shall I learn to recognize God the Father in this Article? In this, that herein is shown and held before me, what I together with all creatures, have received from Him, since the beginning of the world, and that henceforth I ought with confidence and trust wait on Him in all temporal matters.—And what does that mean? It consists of three things.—What is the first? That I owe my body and life to no one else but Him alone.—What then is the part of father and mother? They are nothing more than a means through which God after His good pleasure suffers us to be born into the world, into this sorrowful vale of tears, as it is described in the 127th Psalm.—What, then, is the second? That God the Father preserves these same things unto me, and richly and daily provides all that is necessary to this life and corporal maintenance. —Should one not work? Most certainly. For God ordained work for Adam even in his state of innocence, Genesis 2. But the idle and lazy He has severely condemned, Matthew 25, 1 Thess. 4, 2 Thess. 3, and Ps. 128. But labor is nothing more than a means, which of itself can ac-

complish nothing; it is God alone, who, according to his might and will, causes all to prosper, even as He protects the pious and punishes the wicked through the agency of secular authority, Romans 13, 1 Peter 2. Yet He is perfectly well able to protect His Own in time of need, even without these, as he fed and preserved Elijah, 1 Kings 17 and 19.—What is the third? That is: that besides all this, God the Father also graciously protects and keeps me.—For what reason does He do this? Purely out of fatherly and divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me.—For what purpose does He do this? That I be in duty bound to thank, praise, serve, and obey Him. This is most certainly true.

**4. From Tetelbach's Explanation of 1568.**

*The Ten Commandments.*—What are the Ten Commandments ordinarily called? The Law of God.—What do the Ten Commandments teach? What God desires of us; how we should lead lives pleasing to Him.—Why are the Ten Commandments given as the First Part of the Catechism? A Christian should before all things know how he may live in a way that is pleasing to God; and that is what the Ten Commandments teach, viz., the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom. For that reason they are given first.—Who has given the Ten Commandments? The Lord God.—Where did He give them? At Mount Sinai.—When did He give them? On the fiftieth day after Easter, corresponding to the day of Pentecost.—Through whom did He give them? Through Moses, His true servant.—How did God give them? Amid thunder, lightning, a loud blare of trumpets, fire, smoke, and shaking of the mountain.—Why on this fashion? To manifest the power and the nature of the Law, which reveals sin like a lightning flash, which strikes down man's conscience like a thunderbolt, and burns in his heart like a fire.—On what did He write them? On two tablets of stone.—Where do we find them recorded? In the second book of Moses, in 20th chapter.—Give proof, that there were ten commandments, and were written on two stone tablets. In the fifth Book of Moses, in the fourth chapter, we read: "and He (the Lord) declared unto you His covenant, which He commanded you to perform, even ten commandments; and He wrote them upon two tables of stone."—Why did He write them on stone? First, to signify that our hearts are as stone; secondly, to show thereby, that His commandments shall remain as long as the world endures.—Why did God take two tablets? Because God demands a twofold obedience of us in His commandments: an inner, spiritual one, and an external, physical one.—Why has God given the Ten Commandments? In the first place, that we

may thereby recognize our corrupt nature and inability—what we are and what we ought to be; Secondly, that they reveal to us our sin, and God's wrath and curse, and terrify and slay us. Thirdly, that we might learn from them, what we should do and what we should leave undone, (and that we may know) what pleases God, and what offends Him.—And is it possible for us to keep all the Ten Commandments? A perfect observance we can never attain to, because of our corrupt nature. For God demands of us in the Ten Commandments a perfect, ready, whole-hearted, continual obedience; but such an one we cannot show him, for our heart is evil.—How many commandments are on the first tablet? Three commandments.—What (fashion of) members does God require of us in each of these commandments? In the First Commandment, God requires a clean heart of us. In the Second Commandment, a godly, pious tongue. In the Third, all the members, but especially devout ears, that gladly hear the Word of God.—What do these three commandments, together, teach? They teach how we should conduct ourselves towards God, our Lord, in thoughts, words, and deeds.—What is the *First Commandment*? "Thou shalt have no other gods before me.—What is meant by this Commandment? We should fear, love, and trust in God above all things."—How is the First Commandment given in Exodus 20? In the following words: "I am the Lord, thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt—and keep my commandments."—Why are not all these words put into the Catechism? It would be too much for us children, and the common man, to remember them all. So likewise this little book is but a short summary. Therefore of all these words only the most important have been taken, the essence, the substance and thought, around which all the rest group themselves, viz., Thou shalt have no other gods before me.—What are "other gods," or idols? Anything upon which man relies, and on which he sets his faith, apart from God.—Whence is God's name derived? From the word "good;" and God wills that we hold Him alone to be our greatest good; and that we recognize, fear, love, and trust Him as such.—What does that mean: to fear God? To have God, the Lord, always before our eyes, and guard ourselves, lest we offend Him; and if we have offended Him, not to rest, till He has again become reconciled.—Why should we fear God? Because our body and soul, and all our possessions are in His hands, and He has power to decree our eternal blessedness, or everlasting damnation.—How shall we love God? With all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind, as we read Matthew 22 and Luke 10.—Why should we love God? Because He is

our dear Father, who truly deserves such things from us, for He has given us all we have and are, He has given us His dear Son, and wishes to give us eternal life.—What does that mean: to trust in God? To believe in God, put all hope and confidence in Him, and yield oneself entirely and with sincere trust to His guidance.—Why should we trust in Him? Because, according to His Word, He is truly our dear Father, and almighty.—Why are there added the words: above all things? Because we may, and indeed ought to, love, fear, and trust each other in this life, as for example, our parents, the authorities, and many others. But God above all.—What is the *Second Commandment*? "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.—What is meant by this Commandment? We should . . . praise, and thanksgiving."—What does the Second Commandment teach us? It trains our tongues in the way we should speak of God.—What does the name of God express? All the good, that may be said about God, and that redounds to His honor. —How is God's name taken in vain? By using His name to curse, swear, conjure, lie, or deceive.—What does that mean: to curse by His name? To wish every kind of evil to someone through the name, work, or merit of God, our Lord.—What does that mean: to swear by His name? To adduce the name of God as a witness to our speech, whenever that is done for deceit, without necessity, or with thoughtlessness.—But is swearing then entirely forbidden? To swear without need or profit is forbidden. But to swear for a good purpose, when the honor of God, our vocation, and the authorities demand it, is permissible.—What does that mean; to conjure by His name? To essay to perform supernatural things with the power of God's Word—a purpose for which it was never ordained—to assist or to injure others.—What does that mean: to lie by His name? To use the name of God as the cover of evil, and seek to mask falsehood in fine array.—What does that mean: to deceive by His name? To persuade another by a wrong (false, deceitful) employment of God's Word or name, and bring him to harm.—What power in us is to prevent us from taking His name in vain? The fear of God, for he who fears God, seeks to guard himself against the punishment that is threatened in this commandment.—What is that threatened punishment? "The Lord will not hold . . . in vain."—What is the right use of the name of God? We should call upon His name in every . . . praise, and thanksgiving.—What is prayer? It is an intimate conversation with the Lord God.—What does that mean: to call upon His name? To have recourse to the Lord God in prayer, and petition and desire aid, counsel, and comfort from Him.—What does that mean: to praise God? To confess, exalt, praise, and

sing and declare every good thing of God, and of His Word and name. —What power in us effects the right use of the divine name? The love of God, for he that loves God, speaks only good of His dear God and Father.—Why do these words occur in the explanation of every Commandment: We should fear and love God? If good works do not arise from fear or love of God, they are not wholeheartedly performed, but are hypocrisy, and do not please God.—What teachers of our times walk contrary to the Second Commandment? The faint-hearted, who in the time of persecution do not care to make open confession; the hirelings, who will not defend the recognized truth; and the dumb dogs, that say nothing against the errors and false doctrines.

*The Second Article.*—Of what does the Second Article treat? Of God the Son, and our Redemption.—Recite the Second Article. "And in Jesus Christ, . . . and the dead."—How many articles does this Second Chief Article contain. Six articles.—Of what does the first article treat? Of the Divinity of Christ: "and on Jesus Christ, His only . . . Lord."—How do you interpret the first word: 'and?' Why, "I believe." —What sort of a name is Jesus? It is a Hebrew name; in German it signifies: a Savior, who delivers us from sin and makes us blessed.—What sort of a name is Christ? It is a Greek name, and signifies: an Anointed One; for God has anointed Him to be our only and eternal Highpriest and King.—Why do you call Him: His only Son? He alone is the only-begotten Son of God the Father; we believing Christians are never born sons of God, but out of grace we are adopted as children of God.—Why do you call Him Lord? In the word "Lord" the whole ministry of Him is summed up, who alone has become my Lord and Savior over against all my enemies, who has brought me from sin to righteousness, from the devil to God, from death to life, and now protects and preserves me in this blessed state.—Why do you add: our Lord? Because everything that Christ is and does pertains to us and redounds to our comfort, benefit, and good.—Of what does the second article treat? Of His Incarnation: "who was . . . Virgin Mary."—What meaning do you derive from these words: conceived and born? That Christ became true man.—Why was He conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of a virgin? In order that He might hallow and purify our unholy, unclean, and sinful conception and birth.—What is the third article of our Redemption? "Suffered under Pontius . . . and buried."—Why did Christ suffer? Because of our sins, and for our persons, that we should not suffer eternally.—Why the express mention: under Pontius Pilate? That we might know the time when Christ the Lord suffered; and secondly, that we confess that also we Gentiles

share the guilt for His sufferings.—Why was He crucified? The Lord wanted to become a curse for us, that He might redeem us from the curse, and lighten and sanctify our cross.—Why did Christ die?—That He might thereby reconcile us to God His Father, save us from eternal death, and convert temporal death into a sleep.—Why was Christ buried? That He might sanctify the graves of His believers, and make sleeping chambers and couches of rest of them.—What is the fourth article of our Redemption? "He descended into . . . from the dead."—Why did Christ descend into hell? That descent also was for our benefit, that we be not suffered to descend. For there Christ conquered and bound the devil, that He might not harm us who believe in Christ.—Why did Christ rise from the dead? For the sake of our righteousness, and that we also may enter through death into eternal life.—Why did He rise on the third day? Because the Lord had so foretold it, that Jonah was a figure of His Resurrection, and that the Lord's body should not see corruption.—What is the fifth article of our Redemption? "He ascended into . . . Father Almighty."—What does the Ascension of Christ mean to you? That He has taken His bodily, visible presence from us; but otherwise, the whole Christ is with us, invisibly, always, even unto the end of the world.—What does that mean: He ascended into heaven? He has returned again where He was before in eternity, with His Father, who is all in all.—What does that mean: the right hand of God? God's majesty, omnipotence, and glory.—What does that mean: sit at the right hand of God? To have equal power, might, and honor with God.—Why did Christ ascend into heaven? That He lead our enemies away captive, open the way to heaven for us, and receive us unto Himself.— What is Christ doing at the right hand of God? He is our intercessor with God the Father, and sends us the Holy Spirit from above.—What enthusiasts interpret this article wrongly? The enthusiasts concerning the Sacrament locate the body of Christ in one particular place in heaven, and teach, that it could not be in the Sacrament—which teaching is contrary to the express word of Christ the Lord.—What is the sixth article of our Redemption? "From thence He shall . . . and the dead."—When will Christ come? How will He come, and for what purpose? On the Last Day He will come, in the clouds, with great might and glory, to execute judgment.—Who are the "quick?" Those that will still be living when the Last Day comes, and who will be found in this temporal life at the Advent of the Lord.—Who are the "dead?" All who have died before the Last Day and the Advent of the Lord.—Recite the explanation of the *Second Article.* "I believe that Jesus Christ . . . most certainly true."—How many

parts does this explanation comprise? Three parts. First, there is shown who Jesus Christ is. Secondly, what His office is. Thirdly, what we, on our part, should do in return.—Who is Jesus Christ? "I believe that Jesus Christ . . . is my Lord."—How many things must we know concerning the person of Christ? Three things. First, that He is true God; secondly, that He is true Man; and thirdly, that He is our Lord and Savior.—Why is Christ true God? Because He is begotten of the Father in eternity.—Why is He true Man? Because He was born of the Virgin Mary.—How is He our Lord, or what is His office? The work of Redemption. He has redeemed, bought and freed me.—What were you before? A lost and condemned creature; lost because of my original sin and corrupt nature; condemned because of my transgressions and actual sin.—From what has Christ redeemed you? From all sins, from death, and from the devil, who are my three deadly enemies.—With what has He bought us? "Not with silver and gold . . . and death."—Where is that written? Thus it is declared by St. Peter in his first Epistle, in the first chapter.—Why do you call the Blood of Christ a holy, precious blood? Because the blood of Christ is the sacred ransom for our sin, that God might be reconciled, and we be cleansed from our sins.—Why do you add: and with His innocent sufferings and death? The innocent lamb has suffered for us guilty sinners, that we, though guilty, may become blameless through Him. So the holy Apostle Paul writes 2 Corinthians 5: God hath made Him to be sin for us . . . righteousness of God in Him.—Why has Christ redeemed you? and what should you do in return? There are three things: first, that I might be His own; secondly, that I might live under Him in His kingdom; and thirdly, that I might serve Him.—What do you mean by: be His own? That the devil henceforth may have no part in me, but must leave me unmolested and pass by.—How should you live under Him in His kingdom? We should henceforth no longer remain dead in sin, stand idly in the marketplace, and serve the devil, but work in the vineyard of the Lord, live in Him, and direct our lives to the honor of His name, the extension of His kingdom, and the fulfilment of His will.—How should we serve Him? In everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness.—How in everlasting righteousness? All our life should proceed from a true faith and heart, so that all we do, springs from faith.—How in innocence? We should serve Him with a new obedience, and sincere works of repentance, as the true fruits of faith.—How in blessedness? This refers to life eternal, where we shall live for Him, and serve Him forever.—Give me an example of such a life. Even as He Himself, the Lord Christ is risen from the dead, and

lives and reigns to all eternity.—What does that mean: This is most certainly true? That I believe all this so certainly and surely, that I will even die upon it, even though I may not perceive, understand, or grasp it with my reason.

**5. From the Explanation for "Joachimsthal" of 1574.**

*The Introduction, and the First Commandment.*—What are the Ten Commandments? The eternal law of God, which teaches what is right and what is wrong, and promises temporal and eternal blessings to those that observe it perfectly, but threatens the disobedient with temporal and everlasting punishment.—What purpose do the Ten Commandments serve? That we may discover and perceive our corrupt, sinful nature and transgressions, and learn what true worship and good works are.—How are the Ten Commandments arranged? Into two tables: the first table has three commandments; these teach us how we should conduct ourselves in direct relation to God. The other table has seven commandments; these teach the proper conduct toward our neighbor.—*The First Commandment*: What is the First Commandment? "I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no strange gods before me. The meaning of that is: We should . . . above all things."—What does that mean: fear? To have a childlike awe and deep reverence for God's commandment in all we do or leave undone, that our dear God, who sees and knows all, may not be moved to anger and punishment—as Joseph did.—What does that mean: love? To have a sincere joy and pleasure in God's commandment, and submit to His will in evil and good days, as David did.—What does that mean: to trust in God? To have a strong confidence in God in every need and expect comfort and help from Him alone, as Jehoshaphat.—What does that mean: above all things? That the fear, love, and trust in God should be preferred to that which may extend to all creatures.—*The Third Article.*—Of what does the Third Article treat? Of Sanctification: That is, of the regeneration and renewal by the Holy Ghost, for this Article teaches how all men by nature are blind and uncomprehending in divine matters, and that the Holy Ghost alone enlightens our hearts by the Word, and brings us to saving knowledge of Christ.—Recite the Article. "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy . . . life everlasting. Amen. The meaning of that is: I believe that I cannot by—most certainly true."—What does this explanation teach? It teaches five things. 1. What the perception of man is in divine matters. 2. Who illumines our hearts and brings us to true knowledge of God. 3. By what means this is done. 4. Where this takes place. 5. What the goal and profit of our faith is.—What is the perception of man in divine matters? Concerning what these words

testify: I believe, that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to Him. For natural man, that is, man, when he is without the grace of God, perceives not the spirit of God, though he use all his intellect, skill, understanding and powers, 1 Corinthians 2. Christ crucified is unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, 1 Corinthians 1. Therefore we should guard ourselves against our own vain and presumptuous efforts, and not take offense at this, that man, though he has an intellect, cannot perceive anything of Christ.—But who enlightens our blind hearts? The Holy Ghost who is the true love and flame in God alone can do that. He is poured out into our hearts, and makes us to be born again, and kindles a new light in us, and brings us to the knowledge of God the Father and of His Son, as Christ says, Matthew 16: Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father . . . through the Holy Ghost; and 1 Corinthians 12 we read: No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Therefore we should diligently pray for the Holy Ghost, as Christ says, Luke 11: My Father in heaven will give the Holy Ghost to them that ask Him.—By what means does the Holy Ghost perform His work? Through the Holy Gospel, in which the Holy Ghost calls all poor sinners to repentance, and assures them of the love of the Father and of the blood and death of the Son; and so by means of the Gospel the Holy Ghost turns the hearts of the believers to God, enlightens them, and preserves them in union with Christ, and in a live faith and good conscience. Therefore we should diligently apply ourselves to the Word and the Sacraments, follow the promptings of the Holy Ghost, and not give ear to our own doubt and unbelief.—Where does the Holy Ghost perform His work? In the holy Christian Church, for outside the true Church of God salvation and blessedness are not to be found.—What is the holy Christian Church? The holy Christian Church is a recognizable communion of all men who receive the Gospel of Christ in its purity, and without adulteration, and in true obedience to it use the Sacraments as they were instituted by Christ. In such a communion Christ is truly present and active, dispenses His Spirit, and the inheritance of eternal life; even though there may be hypocrites among them.—How shall we recognize the true Church? 1. The true Church is there, where God's Word is preached in its purity and truth, as Christ says, John 10: My sheep hear my voice. 2. Where the Sacraments are administered according to Christ's command and institution. 3. Where the regulations of the church are obeyed, pursuant to the Word of God. By these signs I shall know the true Church, so that I may cleave to this communion alone in like faith and sincere prayer,

and avoid all godless gatherings.—What is the goal or profit of our faith? First, that I may have in this Christian communion here on earth, daily forgiveness of all my sins, purely out of the grace and mercy of the Father, for the sake of the intercession and merit of Christ the Lord. This forgiveness is plainly set forth for us in the word of Absolution, that we poor sinners, who often stumble, and daily experience nothing but sin, may have a sure comfort that God does not impute our sin, but covers it for the sake of His dear Son. For the righteousness of Christians here on earth consists only in the gracious remission of all their sins.—Secondly: that I may hope for the resurrection of the body, when Christ on the Last Day will awaken me and all the dead, with an incorruptible, strong, glorious, clarified, spiritual body, 1 Corinthians 15. Therefore I need not fear temporal death, or the grave.—Thirdly: that He may give to me and to all who believe in Christ, everlasting life, where I, together with all the elect, shall live and rule before the face of God with heavenly wisdom, justice, joy, and glory, that never cease in all eternity. This serves to keep me firm in the Christian faith, and enables me to bear with patience this sorry pilgrimage.—What is meant by Amen? That I believe and am certain that these Articles of our Christian faith are the eternal, unchangeable wisdom of God, and that I put all my trust in them in life and death, as St. Paul says, 2 Corinthians 1: For all the promises of God in Him are yea, and in Him Amen, unto the glory of God by us,—that is, certain and true.

6. **From the Explanation of Rosinus of 1580,** which was intended especially for use in the home.

*The Fifth Part.*—What is the Fifth Part of the holy Catechism? The office of the Keys, which also includes Confession.—What is Confession? Confession embraces two parts; etc. . . . Here Luther's three confessional questions are given.—In how many ways does Confession take place? In three ways. First, when we confess our whole life to be sinful before God and pray for mercy, even as all the saints must do, Psalm 32; secondly, when we have offended our neighbor or the whole congregation and sue for forgiveness, as Christ commands us to do, Matthew 5 and 18; thirdly, when, according to the greatness of our need, we reveal to a priest, or, in special need, to another Christian person, the secret sufferings of our conscience, that we might be comforted by him with God's Word.—What is the office of the Keys? The office of the Keys is the power to forgive or retain sins in God's stead and name.—Where is man told to forgive or to retain sins in stead of God? Christ says to His Church and its ordained ministers, Matthew

18: Verily, I say unto you: whatsoever ye shall bind—loosed in heaven. Likewise John 20: The Lord Jesus breathed in His disciples, and saith unto them: Receive ye—they are retained.—Unto what sinners shall their sins be remitted, and to whom shall they be retained? Unto them, that do truly repent, that is, whose heart is truly terrified because of their sin, and who believe on Christ and earnestly avoid further sin, their sins shall be forgiven; they shall be freed from them. But unto those that lie in grievous, public sins without repenting, and wilfully continue in them, their sins shall be retained, and they be banned, that is, their sin shall be retained unto them, and they shall be excluded from the Christian congregation as long as they will not repent.—How should those conduct themselves that have been to confession, and have received remission of sins? They should thank God with all their heart, and henceforth guard themselves against sinning, and by the grace of God come to a sanctified life, walking according to the Ten Commandments and the Table of Duties, as David teaches in the 34th Psalm: Depart from evil and do good; likewise Ps. 37: Trust in the Lord, and do good; so shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.—This Fifth Part of the holy Catechism, with its questions and answers, the children may repeat and drill at home, after breakfast is over, and the Gratias has been said. After Supper is over, and grace has been said the children may stand around the table at home and pray the 51st Psalm from David's Catechism: Have mercy upon me, O Lord. . . they offer bullocks upon Thine Altar. Thereafter they may sing from the hymnbook the hymn of Erhard Hegenwald: (*Erbarm dich mein, O Herre Gott, nach deiner grossen Barmhertzigkeit . . . da Christen sein, die opfern dir Gerechtigkeit*—a versification of the 51st Psalm.) Or they may sing from Luther's little hymnal: *Aus tiefer Not schrey ich zu dir . . . aus seinen Suenden allen.*

*Part Six.*—What is the Sixth Part of the holy Catechism? The holy and exalted Sacrament of the Altar.—Why is it called the Sacrament of the Altar? Because it is publicly distributed in church at the altar and there received by the believers.—Who instituted it? Our Savior Jesus Christ, who is both almighty God and true Man. Therefore we should not depart from the manner of His institution, nor doubt His Word.—When did He institute it? In the night He was betrayed, shortly before His sufferings and death, in order to prove His great love for us, and to leave this great treasure behind as the Last Testament for His Church.—What visible elements and material substances did He employ? Bread and wine, since these are the best and most suitable food, and the noblest drink of the soul and spirit.—But

what is such bread and wine in the Sacrament of the Altar? It is the true body and blood of Christ, that is, not a symbolized, figurative, spiritual, or absent body and blood of Christ, as the Calvinists teach, but the true, real, actual, and present body and blood of Christ, which He gave and shed for us on the cross.—And are the bread and wine then converted into the body and blood of Christ, as the papists teach? No; the bread and wine retain their substance, form, and shape; but in, under, and with the bread and wine the real, actual, present body and blood of Christ are offered, and received and eaten by us.—How should we partake of this Sacrament? With our mouth we should eat and drink Christ's body and blood under the bread and wine; but with the faith of our hearts we should apply to ourselves, appropriate, and make our own the forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation, which Christ's body and blood won for us.—Where do you learn that? In the four questions of our holy Catechism.—The First Question—What is the Sacrament of the Altar? It is the true Body and Blood, etc.—Here follows the Fifth Part from Luther's Enchiridion.—This Sixth Part of the holy Catechism, with its questions and answers, the children may repeat and drill at home, after breakfast is over, and grace has been said. After supper is over, and grace has been said the children may stand around the table at home and pray the 111th Psalm from David's Catechism: I will praise the Lord with my whole heart . . . his praise endureth for ever. Thereafter they may sing from Luther's little hymnal: *Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet . . . in fried vnd einigkeit. Kyrieleison.* —Or: *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gemein . . . das lass ich dir zur letze.*

**7. From the "Fragestuecke fuer die Jugend zu Jauer," in Silesia, 1591.**

*The Third Part: The Lord's Prayer.*—What is the Third Part of the "Christian Teaching?" The holy Lord's Prayer.—Who composed the Lord's Prayer? Our Lord Jesus Christ, Matthew 6.—What does the Lord Christ teach us in the Lord's Prayer? He teaches us how to pray.—What does that mean: to pray? To pray means to call upon God with all your heart and ask something of Him.—How many things belong to a true prayer? Three, viz.: 1. a true knowledge of God; 2. an earnest faith; and 3. a present need.—What should incite and move us to prayer? First, God's command; secondly, God's promise; and thirdly, the straits of all Christendom and particularly our own pressing need.—How many are the needs of man? There are two kinds: spiritual and bodily, or temporal needs.—How shall we pray for the spiritual, eternal blessings? We should pray for them without a con-

dition and surely believe that God will certainly give them to us, according to His promise.—How shall we pray for our temporal needs? We should pray for them with the condition: in as far as it is the will of God and for our good and profit.—Into how many parts is the Lord's Prayer divided? Into three parts: the Introduction, the Seven Petitions, and the Conclusion.—What does the Introduction teach? It teaches us what name we should give God when we call on Him and ask something of Him.—And what name should we give God? We are to call Him our Father, and that not only with our mouth, but still more with believing hearts and childlike confidence.—What do the Seven Petitions teach? They include all things, for which a man can pray, whether it be spiritual or earthly things.—What do we ask for in the First Petition? That God may give and preserve to us His pure Word and right use of the precious Sacraments.—What do we ask for in the Second Petition? That God will add His Holy Spirit to the preached Word and to the use of the holy Sacraments, and by them work and ever preserve in us a saving faith.—What do we ask for in the Third Petition? That God so rule us by His Holy Spirit that every one in his vocation may do what God demands and desires.—What do we ask for in the Fourth Petition? For everything that we have need of in this temporal life.—What do we ask for in the Fifth Petition? For forgiveness of sins.—What do we ask for in the Sixth Petition? That God may graciously preserve us in all temptations.—What do we ask for in the Seventh Petition? For a blessed end and a last peaceful hour of death.—What does the Conclusion of the Lord's Prayer teach us? It gives us reasons, why we should call on God alone, and not on the angels, or departed saints.—Why should we call on God alone? Because He alone can and will help us, since He is an almighty and merciful Lord.

**8. From Bischoff's Explanation of 1599.**

*The Fourth Part of the Holy Catechism*, viz., the Sacrament of Holy Baptism.—What is the Fourth Part of the Catechism? The Sacrament of Holy Baptism.—What are the Sacraments? External and visible signs of God's grace, in which He offers us forgiveness of sins, and at the same time assures us of its appropriation.—How many Sacraments are given in the New Testament? Two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.—Who has instituted them? Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. For no one except God may institute a Sacrament.—Why did He institute them? Because of our weakness, and in order that

everyone may thereby receive personal assurance of the grace of God.—What constitutes a Sacrament? Three things; first, God's commandment; secondly, His promise; and thirdly, a visible element, decreed by God Himself.—What is God's commandment concerning Baptism? This, that our Lord Christ spake to His disciples: Go ye therefore, and—Holy Ghost.—What is the word of promise? "He that believeth and—shall be damned."—What is the visible element? Water.—Where is it written in Scripture that we should baptize with water? Jesus says John 3: Except a man—God. And in the Epistle to the Ephesians St. Paul calls Baptism a "washing of water by the word," Ephesians 5.—And is it right to baptize bells? No. Christ has commanded to teach and baptize the nations,—not bells, or other creatures; such things are equal to making sport of Baptism, and a horrible contempt of Him who instituted it, Jesus Christ, our Lord.—Recite the words: What is Baptism?—Here follows the Fourth Part of Luther's Catechism.—How shall a Christian continually and profitably remind himself of, and apply, his Baptism? St. Peter teaches us that, when he says: Baptism is the answer (*der Bund*) of a good conscience toward God, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, 1 Peter 3.—What do these words teach? They teach that God in Baptism in a certain and pre-arranged manner unites Himself with the conscience of man.—What is that arrangement? First, God promises His grace, forgiveness of sins, and eternal blessedness to that person for the sake of the innocent death and joyful resurrection of Jesus Christ, and demands nothing further, save that man receive this treasure with an earnest faith and thereafter, out of gratitude, show Him loyal service and obedience in His kingdom, over against the old evil foe, the devil. Secondly, man on his part receives the proffered grace and salvation with such faith, and promises God that he will trust and rely on Him alone, serve Him alone, and continue to his end as an enemy of the devil and all his works and his ways.—What will that profit? First, a Christian is to learn therefrom how to comfort himself with his Holy Baptism against all temptations and assaults of sin, of death, the devil, and the gates of hell, because he hears and knows that God Himself has united with him, purely out of His abundant grace, for the sake of Jesus Christ, and has bound Himself by His most holy Name to do all things. Secondly, a Christian on his part is to remind himself of his promise and holy oath, which he sware to God in Baptism, so that he may manfully battle against the flesh, the world, and the devil, continue in a good faith and conscience till his end, and diligently guard himself against all wilful transgression.—But suppose a Christian from weak-

ness stumbles and falls—is Holy Baptism then made naught and lost to him? Not at all; for God does not for that reason become unfaithful to His word and covenant, even though man break it and become false. But we should in true repentance rise again and renew the covenant of Holy Baptism with God, comfort ourselves with it always, and henceforth govern our conduct still more carefully, till God in graciousness calls us from this struggle to life eternal. Amen.

*The Sixth Part of the Holy Catechism.*—Of what does the Sixth Part of our holy Catechism treat? Of the Lord's Supper, or the Sacrament of the Altar.—Why is the Lord's Supper called a Sacrament? Because it is one of the visible tokens of grace which Christ has instituted for our comfort and happiness.—Why is it called the Sacrament of the Altar? To distinguish it from the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and since it is distributed at the altar, or table, to the congregation of God. St. Paul calls it "the Lord's Table" in 1 Corinthians 10.—Here follows the Fifth Part according to Luther.—How many things should a Christian seriously consider in the doctrine of Holy Communion? Seven he should especially so consider.—1. What is the first? Concerning the institutor of the Lord's Supper.—Who instituted this supper? The Son of God and of Mary, our dear Lord and Savior Jesus Christ Himself.—When? In the night in which He was betrayed.—How? After the form of a testament, that is, as He was about to die, He wished to make and publish His Last Will to all Christendom.—What prompted Him to do this? Solely His unspeakable, deep love for us.—What is the purpose of this first part? This: that we may regard this institution of our Lord Jesus Christ as holy, dear, and precious, abide in His words, and suffer no man to change or alter them for us.—2. What is the second part? Concerning the food of this Supper.—What kind of food did Christ institute in this supper? Not alone mere simple bread and wine, but also His true body and His true blood.—Are bread and wine then converted into Christ's body and blood, as the papists teach? No; they remain bread and wine in themselves; but nevertheless the true body and the true blood of Christ are present for the sake of those that partake of Holy Communion—even though the manner of this is unsearchable.—What persuades you of the truth of this? The Word of the Lord Christ Himself: This is my body—shed for you and for many.—But is that not contrary to all reason? That has no weight with me; Christ and His word are a sure guarantee against every error. And I know that He is almighty; whatever He promises, He is able to do.—What is the purpose of this doctrine? That we learn to be on our guard against all

enthusiasts, who, in contradiction to the clear, unmistakable word of our Lord Jesus Christ deny the true presence of His body and blood.—3. What is the third part? Concerning the use and order of the Lord's Supper.—How has Christ commanded the use of His body and blood in Holy Communion? First to eat His body; secondly, to drink His blood, even as the simple words say: Take, eat, and drink.—Why is it necessary to know this? That we may learn to be on our guard against the horrible errors of the papacy. For the papists, in the first place, change the use of this Supper in a most shameful manner, and make out of it a mass and a sacrifice for the living and the dead, and thereupon put the bread away, carry it about, and worship it, contrary to Christ's command: Take, eat, and drink! In the second place, they also tread Christ's order under foot when they deprive the laity of the cup, whereas Christ decreed and instituted the entire Supper for all believers.—4. For what purpose did Christ institute such a supper? That He be remembered.—What does that mean: in remembrance of Christ? To proclaim His death, which He suffered for our sins.—Why do that? That we may learn to believe that no creature, either in heaven, or on earth, could atone sufficiently for our sin, but that the eternal Son of God, Jesus Christ, had to atone for them. Therefore we should be horrified at our sins, and learn to regard them as monstrous, but also have our joy and comfort in the Lord Christ alone, and thank Him with all our heart for such a great love and blessing grace.—5. What is the fifth part? Concerning the benefit of Holy Communion.—What benefit shall Holy Communion bring us? It is not for the purpose of fattening or feeding the body, but to refresh the inner (spiritual) man, and to nourish him for eternal life.—How is that done? In the first place, our faith is strengthened thereby, since the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ, with which He purchased forgiveness of sins and eternal life for us, are given us as a sure guarantee or earnest that these blessings are ours. Secondly, there is kindled and increased thereby a sincere love towards God and our fellowman, patience beneath the cross, prayerful recourse to God, thanksgiving, courageous confession, and other virtues, to all of which we bind ourselves anew by the body and blood of Jesus Christ, as often as we partake of Holy Communion.—6. What is the sixth part? It gives the reasons that should incite and induce us to make frequent and glad use of Holy Communion.—What are these reasons? First, the sincere love of Jesus Christ towards us, out of which He instituted this Sacrament of the Altar for us as a special comfort. Secondly, His will and command: This do often, in remembrance of me. Thirdly, our

own need, for we indeed continually have the greatest need of such a priceless assurance to strengthen our faith; fourthly, the gratitude we owe Christ for His innocent death; fifthly, that we may grow and increase in the fear of God; and, finally, that we may confess our faith publicly and set a good example to others.—7. In regard to the seventh part: in what does the worthy preparation for Holy Communion consist? It consists of true faith in Jesus Christ; for he that believes with all his heart that no one could atone for his sin except the only-begotten Son of God, with His sufferings and death, will also heartily repent of his sin, and with true earnestness mend his ways out of gratitude to God for so great a grace.—Do the unworthy also receive the body and blood of Christ? Yes; for their unbelief does not make void Christ's word and institution. But they receive it to their own judgment and eternal damnation, as St. Paul teaches. God give us His grace, that we approach worthily and use this most holy Table to our eternal blessedness. Amen.

# 5. The Triumph of Luther's Small Catechism Throughout Europe

HARDLY had Luther's Catechism been printed when its triumphant march through the languages and countries of Europe began. It will be well to call to mind the chief stages of its progress.

**Austria.** In the 16th century Austria was already divided into Lower, Upper, and Inner Austria. The visitation ordered on May 24, 1523 by Ferdinand I (1526 or 1521-1564) revealed the fact that there were more Evangelicals than Catholics among the nobles and officials of *Lower Austria.* In spite of the work of the Jesuit Canisius and of his catechism (1555), the Lutheran movement gained in strength. Around 1558-1560 Lutheranism dominated most of the residences of the nobility and the cities and towns. In 1558 Canisius wrote, of course exaggerating the situation: "Vienna is becoming more and more another Wittenberg or Geneva." On the 18th of August Maximilian II (1564-1576) published his well known permission of religious freedom. Chytraeus was called from Rostock to organize the Evangelical Church, and in 1571 appeared the *Christliche Kirchen-Agenda, Wie die von den zwei Staenden der Herren und Ritterschaft im Erzherzogtum Osterreich unter der Enns gebraucht wird.* It contains a section on Luther's Catechism and reprints the Catechism itself. Herewith the Catechism was elevated to the position of an official textbook. In the book *Der fuernemsten Hauptstueck christlicher Lehr nuetzliche und Kurtze Erklärung,* originally written for Austria by Chytraeus (1572, 1575, 1578, 1587), we read in the edition of 1578 that none other than Luther's Small Catechism may be used in Lower Austria: *der kleine und grosse Kate-*

*chismus soll bei dieser Land Kirchen ewiglich erhalten bleiben* (Reu I, 3, p. 478). The editions used were usually those of Wittenberg, Nuernberg, and Regensburg. In London there is today a copy of an edition printed in 1573 at Regensburg, prepared for the town of Syrendorf in Lower Austria by B. Gerlicus (W. 30, 1, 762). The explanations employed were those of the *Nuernberger Kinderpredigten,* the Catechism of Rosinus, and perhaps also Tetelbach and Joseph Opitz. The visitation of 1580, carried out in collaboration with Bacmeister, provided for the execution of the regulations of 1571. At this time 334 towns and villages of Lower Austria were served by 180 Lutheran pastors. Then the Jesuit counter-reformation set in, and most of these promising fields were destroyed.

*Upper Austria* was the real stronghold of Lutheranism in Austria. As early as 1524 Leonhard Eleutherobius here published one of Bugenhagen's books with a preface which has the worth of a confession of faith. Eleutherobius was a 'German schoolmaster'; that is, he taught in the schools for the children of common people in distinction from the Latin schools. Men of the nobility, as the Starhemberg and Joergers, were in correspondence with Luther. In 1525 Luther sent Michael Stiefel, a former Augustinian monk, to one of the Joergers to serve as pastor for the family. It was the same Stiefel who, when he had fled from Austria and returned to Saxony, made the copy of the chart Catechism which has come down to us and for which we are so greatly indebted to him. The cities and towns followed the nobility. As early as 1523 Gmunden was regarded as a hot-bed of heresy. The Resolution of Maximilian II (December 7, 1568) gave to Upper Austria religious liberty. Here too diligent instruction in the Catechism was stressed. In a publication of 1566 entitled, *Wie es mit der christlichen Messe . . . . in der Kirche zu Steyr gehalten werden soll,* we read: "At twelve o'clock the preacher shall be in his pulpit and shall not preach above 45 minutes, in

order that the service may be over at one, and it were well if during this hour nothing (*durichs gantz ghar nits enders den*) except the Catechism be preached, because this service is arranged primarily for the common folk who could not come to the morning sermon" (Loesche, *Kirchenordnungen*, p. 67). That Luther's Catechism was meant may be gathered from the instruction given to the cantor and organist at Ischl in 1579. Notwithstanding that he was a Catholic he was ordered to assist the teacher in the school for boys and girls and was admonished "to instruct the children diligently and faithfully in Luther's Catechism, taking the Catechism purely and simply as it is without the slightest addition or subtraction" (Loesche, p. 288). Provision for the use of Luther's Catechism in German and Latin is also made in the regulations of 1570, governing the provincial school at Linz (C. F. Bauer, *Die evang. Landschaftschule in Linz*, in *Jahrbuch* of 1925, p. 8). It is especially evident in the *Agenda der Christlichen Kirchen im Erzherzogtumb Osterreich ob der Enns* of about 1576, which we possess only in manuscript form, for here we have a section dealing with the catechism (Loesche, *K. O.*, pp. 53 ff.). However, at the end of the century the Jesuit counter-reformation prevailed in Upper Austria and gradually destroyed nearly everything that had been achieved in the way of evangelical worship and religious instruction.

This brings us to *Inner* Austria, that is to *Styria, Carinthia, Carniola*, etc. Here too the visitation of 1528 showed the beginnings of an evangelical movement in many places and in spite of the measures adopted by Ferdinand I to remedy the defects and needs revealed by the visitation, Lutheranism year by year gained the upper hand, even in the provincial cities and towns. The monasteries were deserted, ecclesiastical establishments fell into ruin, and the evangelical nobility acquired a considerable portion of church property. Lords and knights, as in Lower Austria, became the bulwarks of the evangelical

cause. When about a year after the Augsburg Interim (May 15, 1548) the synod of Salzburg was held (November 11, 1549),—Central Austria then belonged to the Archbishopric of Salzburg—those of evangelical tendencies memorialized the synod with a statement concerning the ecclesiastical situation which was an open avowal of Protestantism, as the latter had already taken possession of Styria, Carinthia, and perhaps also of Carniola. At the time of the diet of 1569 there were 72 cities and towns in Styria alone which confessed the Lutheran faith; not one remained Catholic in its entirety. In 1573 by virtue of the Pacification of Graz the estates acquired freedom of conscience and worship at least for themselves, for their families, and for their dependents. Chytraeus was then called to Inner Austria for the purpose of effecting an organization and of establishing regulations for church government. His order was presented to the general diet at Bruck in 1578 and was adopted as binding for all the territory of Inner Austria. At the same time the Grand Duke Charles was forced to tolerate the preachers and the schools at Graz, Laibach, Klagenfurt, and Judenburg and to agree not to violate the consciences of the people nor to punish them physically for their religious convictions. However, the diet of the dukes at Muenchen (October 1579) marked the beginning of the reaction. At the instigation of his queen, Maria, a Bavarian princess, Charles II, the son of Maximilian II, began the counter-reformation, and Ferdinand II (1595-1629) carried it on till the evangelical congregations were exterminated.

Already in the year 1544 Barth. Pica, teacher in the school at Graz, had published a German-Latin catechism, which I republished in part in 1915 in *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*. Although Pica did not use Luther's text, his catechism was based upon Luther's, especially the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Parts. In the church regulations of 1578, parts of which are now in print (Loesche, *Kirchenordnung*, pp. 42ff.) we read:

"Then we have for our churches the Small Catechism of Luther . . . . Indeed for the simple no better book has been written than the Small Catechism of Luther, which shall be retained in all churches." Concerning the use of the Catechism at the Sunday afternoon service we find the following prescriptions: "The Catechism shall be used thus: 1. First a selection from the Catechism is sung. 2. The minister of the word reads the Six Parts of Christian doctrine in Luther's words and according the form and order which he gave and directed in his Catechism. 3. The preacher expounds a portion of the Catechism. The sermon shall not last longer than half an hour. 4. Two pupils recite a part of Luther's Small Catechism with the explanation. 5. Then all the children and young people shall be questioned. 6.. When the recitation has been fully completed the prayer prescribed in the printed *Agendbuch* of Graz, together with the Lord's Prayer, shall be said (The prayer referred to is the well known prayer from Veit Dietrich's *Agendenbuechlein*). 7. A hymn of praise is sung. 8. The pastor pronounces the usual benediction, Num. 6." Here a note is added: "In Carinthia and Carniola they also have the little catechism of Brenz (that of 1535); they may indeed keep it, but let them above all things diligently use Luther's Catechism and impress it upon the minds of the people." Among the explanations of Luther's Catechism, that of Joachim Moerlin (first edition 1547) is mentioned with approval. We still have an edition of Luther's Catechism for Carinthia which dates back to this time. It was indeed printed in Wittenberg in 1574, but it was the work of Johann Hauser who was pastor at Villach and was intended for "the simple youth of Villach". The book contains, besides a preface by Cyr. Spangenberg and Hauser and several introductory questions, the Six Chief Parts, of which the absolution is the Fifth, and "Questions and Answers, concerning those parts of this catechetical doctrine, against which the papacy and all new factions and sects particularly

contend" (W. 30, 1, p. 762; with this appendix of Hauser's edition compare that of the *Kleines Corpus Doctrinae* of M. Judex of 1564 and my comments in I 3, 444-472).

*Carniola's* reformer was the 'Slovenian Luther', Primus Truber, the founder of Slovenian literature. He is the author of several catechisms. The first, dated 1550, contains Luther's Table of Duties, the second, of the same year (Abecedarium) offers the small catechism of Brenz (1535) with morning and evening and table prayers according to Luther; the third (1555) is based on Luther and Brenz with additions from Melanchthon and Rhegius; the fourth, which appeared in 1561, finally presents the Catechism of Luther. The last bears the title: *Der Catechismus mit kurzen Auslegungen, Symbolum Athanasii und eine Predigt von der Kraft und Wirkung des rechten Christenglaubens in der Crobatischen Sprach* (W. 30, 1, 788, 825). In the same year this book was published *in der syrnischen Sprach.* The Servian preface, which was signed by Primus Truber of Carniola, Anton of Dalmatia, and Stephan of Istria, is an eloquent witness to the extent that the influence of Luther's Catechism reached down into these southern regions of Europe. Around 1570 there were twenty-four evangelical pastors in Carniola alone, of whom twenty-two are fairly well known to us. The just mentioned catechisms for Carniola, Istria, and Dalmatia were published in Tuebingen because of the close connection between Carniola—especially Truber—and Wuerttemberg. But we also possess an edition of a catechism prepared in 1584 by Hans Mannel in Laibach. And as the first monument of the literature of Carniola was a catechism, so a catechism, that of 1595, was the last of its Protestant literature. With the expulsion in 1598 of the Superintendent Magister Felician Truber, the second son of Primus Truber, the decline of Lutheranism in Carniola began. The Counter-Reformation conquered.—The waves of the Lutheran movement also

reached into Goerz and Triest, and here too Luther's Catechism no doubt was used.

**Bohemia and Moravia.** In *Bohemia* there were at the beginning of the Reformation three religious groups: the Roman Catholics, the Utraquists or Calixtines, and the Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*). With the two latter groups Luther stood in close contact; letters and messengers went to and fro. Almost all the Utraquists became Lutheran; the Bohemian Brethren, however, maintained their identity, although they too for many years were strongly influenced by Lutheran doctrine. As early as April 1523, at a convention to which Utraquist nobles, cities, priests, and deans were invited, those of Lutheran sympathies were in the majority. The war against the Turks forced Ferdinand contrary to his wishes to tolerate many things in Bohemia. Thus cities such as Kaaden and Joachimsthal went over to the Utraquists and thence to the Lutherans, and he was powerless to restrain them. The well known stalwart Lutheran, Johann Mathesius, had been the rector of the Latin school at Joachimsthal since 1532, and from 1542 until 1565 he was the successful and much beloved pastor of the whole city congregation. After his death the catechism which he had used in church and school was printed in Nuernberg (1574, 1576, 1589). It was a simple, excellent exposition of Luther's Small Catechism (reprinted in I 2, 689-709; cf. I 2, 331ff). Mathesius also treated Luther's Catechism in sermons which later were printed in Leipzig (1586). Eger, both city and country, was Lutheranized by Jerome Thilesius (1564). He introduced Luther's Catechism. In Falkenau near Eger Johann Habermann wrote in 1567 his well known prayer book. Johann Hegius, the pastor at Eger, dealt with Luther's Table of Duties in a very diffuse manner. He divided it into seven parts, one for each day in the week, and explained it in many questions and answers (I 2, 333). The book appeared in 1574 at Eger, 18 folios in octavo. The

relation which his *Unterricht von dem uralten, rechten und heiligen Weg der Seligkeit etc.,* which also appeared at Eger in 1574, sustains to Luther's Catechism, I have not yet been able to determine. That the evangelical Humanist, Kaspar Brusch, who was also active in the field of catechetics, hailed from Eger, we shall only note in passing (cf. Horawitz, *Caspar Bruschius, ein Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Humanismus u. d. Reformation,* 1874). Gryphius, the court preacher at Castle Gross-Skal in the district of Turnau, wrote his *Enchiridion fidei christianae,* which contains an explanation of Luther's Catechism, in 1583 (I 2, 384f., 962-975).

It was only natural that the German speaking population of Bohemia should be the first to turn to Lutheranism. But the movement did not halt there; its roots reached out to the Utraquists who spoke the Bohemian or the Czech tongue. At the meeting of December 4, 1549, Ferdinand did not succeed in bringing them back to the Roman Catholic Church, and before he died in 1564, he was obliged to create at Prague a Utraquistic consistory which was composed of Lutherans. The entire Utraquist group finally merged into Lutheranism. This necessitated a catechism in the vernacular. From Joh. Clajus, the author of the first polyglot edition of the Small Catechism, we learn that the translation of the Small Catechism into Bohemian was made at the instance of the Duke of Hardeck, who hoped thereby to introduce among his Czech speaking subjects the doctrine of Luther (I, 2, 235). This translation must have appeared between 1568 and 1570. A second translation followed in 1581 (or a second edition of the first? see Jungmann IV, 1303), in 1584 a third in Czech and Latin by Joh. Pruno (Loesche, *Luther, Melanchton und Calvin* etc., 1909, p. 348), in 1585 a Bohemian-German and in 1612 an official edition by the three superintendents of the church (Jungmann IV, 1406). The polyglot edition of Luther's Small Catechism (in eight languages) which is in the royal library at Stockholm includes

Luther's Catechism in Czech or Bohemian. It dates back to the 17th century.

In *Moravia* the cities Iglau, Nicolsburg, and Olmuetz were the most important centers of Lutheranism. The well known Paul Speratus, Johann Heidenreich, and Kaspar Stolshagius were the standard bearers. However, when in 1599 Franz von Diedrichstein became bishop of Olmütz, all Protestants in Brünn were deprived of their places upon the city council, and the new members were bound under oath to expel all evangelical preachers and to grant citizenship only to Catholics. While these measures were primarily directed against the Moravian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), they also put an end to Lutheranism in Moravia. Only in the little principality of Asch was it able to maintain itself, so that in this place Luther's Catechism was in uninterrupted use since 1545. We know of a German edition of the Small Catechism for Moravia. The same Johann Hauser, who in 1574 had a catechism printed for Villach in Carniola (see above), also published an edition of Luther's Catechism in 1594 for his congregation at Nusla in Moravia. It was a revised edition of the edition of 1574.

In the border-territory (*Maehrisch-Schlesien*) were the Duchies of Troppau, belonging to Hapsburg, Jaegerndorf, belonging to Brandenburg-Ansbach, and the Duchy of Teschen, belonging to the Piasts. In Jaegerndorf Luther's Catechism and the Nuernberg Sermons for Children were officially introduced. The same is true also of the principalities of Freudenthal, Gueldenstein, and Helfenstein which belonged to the Duchy of Troppau. In the printery at Freudental there appeared the first edition of the influential Postil of Martinus Philadelphus, the foremost exponent of Lutheranism in the Czech language and literature. When Wenzel II (1545-1579) became a Lutheran, the Duchy of Teschen also became Lutheran. In the Latin school at Teschen George Tranovsky was a teacher. He is regarded as the Czecho-Slovakian Luther and

achieved fame as a writer of hymns. Later he became the pastor at Bielitz, the Zion of Lutheranism in this territory. In Freistadt, Joh. Pruno, rector of the school in that place, translated Luther's Catechism into Czech and in 1584 gave out a bilingual (Czech and Latin) edition (Loesche, *Luther,* etc.; see above).

**Hungary and Transylvania** *and the latter's influence on the Greek Church.* In the early days of the Reformation merchants and students carried Luther's thoughts and writings into the region of Zips and into the cities of Upper Hungary. Under the influence of the court preacher of Queen Maria, Konrad Cordatus, and of George of Brandenburg, guardian to the young king Ludwig II (1516-1526), the royal court at Ofen became the center of reformatory efforts. But in 1523, and again in 1525, the diet decided to suppress the Reformation. These decrees, however, could not be carried out because of the complete change in the political situation brought about by the battle of Mohacs (1526) with its resultant collapse of the kingdom. Ferdinand I of Hapsburg (1526-1564) and Zapolya of Transylvania (1526-1540) for political reasons were obliged to tolerate Lutheranism, and the Turks were not concerned about the religious persuasions of their Hungarian subjects. The nobles favored the Reformation. In the territory beyond the Danube, Matthias Biro of Déva had since 1534 enjoyed the protection of Duke Thomas Nadasdy, and had become the apostle of the new doctrine. Together with John Sylvester he labored in Sarvar and as 'the Luther of Hungary' engaged in extended reformatory activities. They set up a Lutheran school with Sylvester at its head, and a printery that produced in 1541 a translation of the New Testament in the Magyar tongue. A catechism Biro (Dévai) had already had printed in Krakau in 1538, which though it may not have contained Luther's, was yet Lutheran in spirit. The Turkish invasion (1541) and the persecution by the Roman Catholics

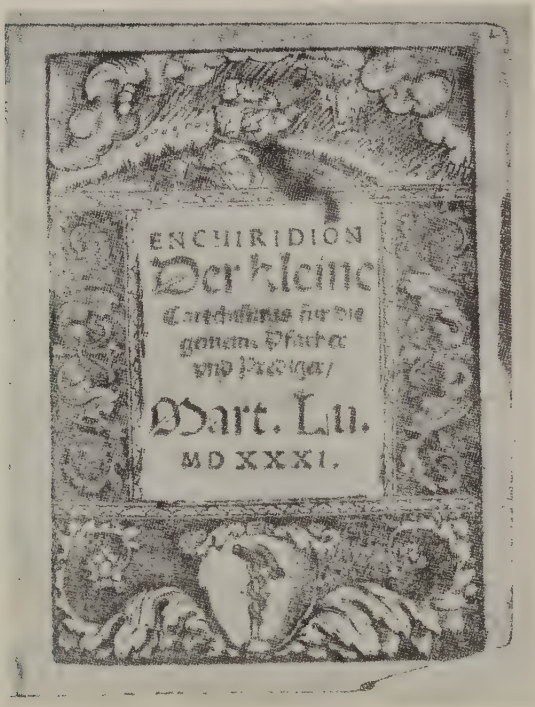


PLATE SIX: Title page of the High German Wittenberg edition of 1531

ruined these beautiful beginnings. But at the Synod of Erdoed on the 20th of October 1545 there were nevertheless 29 pastors who severed their connection with Rome and accepted the Augustana. The mountain towns Kremnitz, Schemnitz, Neusohl, and others in 1558 gave expression to their Lutheran faith in the *Confessio Montana* and at the Synod of Zsolna in 1610 they even accepted the Formula of Concord. In Bartfeld, a town of the Zips region, Leonhard Stoeckel had already reorganized the school in 1539 and in 1549 he united the towns of Kaschau, Leutschau, Eperies, Kisszeben, and Bartfeld in a Lutheran confession (Confessio Pentapolitana). There is no question that Luther's Catechism was used in these regions. The German and Latin editions were imported from Germany, just as German congregations even today satisfy their wants by using the catechetical literature of Germany. Moreover, the rendition of Gerengel (1569) was easily accessible, of which we shall hear more under the head of Oedenburg. It was probably toward the end of the century that the *Catechismus Leutschoviensis* (Catechism for Leutschau) came into existence of which we have an edition of 1629 in Magyar. It contained Luther's Catechism. The Slovaks had at their disposal the edition of 1584 which was mentioned in connection with Maehrisch-Schlesien; perhaps this edition was identical with the print *Catechismus to Celi* (Bitenbergi 1584) or has some relation to it. Of Magyar translations there were accessible, the translation made by Heltai in Klausenburg (1550), which will receive mention again under the head of Transylvania, and that of Peter Bornemisza which appeared in Semptc in 1577. Later there was added to these the Magyar edition of the *Catechismus Leutschoviensis* (Lors ei Káté), to which we have already referred, the earliest edition of which that has come down to us dates back to 1629 according to Alexander Payr, *Compendium der protestantischen Kirchengeschichte in Ungarn* (*in Magyar*) p. 171. This edition and version seems

to have been used in Upper Hungary over a long period of time.

From Upper Hungary Lutheranism spread to the other side of the Danube, namely to *Oedenburg, Papa,* etc.; it also reached into the territory between the *Danube* and the *Theisz.* Thus Luther's Catechism also came into these parts of Hungary. Simon Gerengel, the pastor at Oedenburg between 1565 and 1570, was a staunch Lutheran. Of the first edition of his exposition of Luther's Catechism (Regensburg, 1569) there is still in existence a defective copy which is in the possession of the Hungarian Museum at Budapest. The second edition was printed in 1571 in Augsburg. The third, prepared by the pastors at Oedenburg in 1583, is in the old evangelical Lyceal Library at Oedenburg and has the title: *Catechismus und Erklaerung der christlichen Kinderlehre, wie die in den Kirchen Gottes zu Oedenburg in Hungern fuergetragen wird. Bestellet durch Simonem Gerengel. Jetzt und von neuem uebersehen und das drittmal in Druck gegeben etc.* This Catechism was used down into the 19th century (last printing 1779), so that in the first decades of that century children still asked one another: "Do you know your Gerengel?" (cf. Alex. Payr, *Geschichte der ev. Gemeinde in Oedenburg* (*in Magyar*) p. 102ff.). In the 18th century this catechism was also translated into Magyar (1715. 1735. 1750), and in the middle of the century Stephan Kurnitz translated it into Windisch or Slovenic. Luther's Catechism also found its place in the territory between the Danube and the Theisz, and the Superintendent Stephan Boejthe (1585-1597, a Crypto-Calvinist, would scarcely have been able to abolish it permanently.

With the return of Dévai, i. e., Matthias Biro of Déva in Transylvania,—who after his expulsion, which was mentioned above, had not only sojourned in Wittenberg, but also in Switzerland, and had in the latter country embraced Calvinism—a Reformed movement set in. Dévai represented Calvinism in

Miskolcz in Upper Hungary and afterward in Debreczin and made the latter city the stronghold of Calvinism in Hungary. The majority of the Magyars embraced Calvinism (Confessio Hungarica or Csengerina, later supplanted by the Confessio Belgica and the Heidelberg Catechism, both of which were adopted at the Convention of Debreczin in 1567), while the Germans and the Slavs remained Lutheran.

This brings us to *Lower Hungary* and *Transylvania.* Since the Peace of Grosswardein in 1538 the Theisz formed the western boundary line of Transylvania. The land between Transylvania proper and the Theisz was at this time often called Lower Hungary or Pannonia Inferior. In Transylvania proper there were at this time three distinct groups: 1. The Hungarian Nobility; 2. The Seklers in the east, who were Magyars by descent; 3. The German "Saxons". Among the latter the Reformation struck root first. Their principal cities were Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Mediasch, and Bistritz. The reformer of Kronstadt was Johannes Honter. In the year 1542 he wrote and printed upon his own press his excellent *Formula reformationis ecclesiae Coronensis ac Barcensis totius provinciae,* which was based upon the church regulations of Saxony of 1539, and upon those of Wittenberg and Nuernberg. In this book the pastor is told to teach the catechism to the children and young people at stated times and always in the same manner in order that they might learn it the more easily (Teutsch, *Geschichte,* I, p. 226). On Christmas day, 1543, the city council of Kronstadt adopted the Formula of Honter upon oath. In 1547 followed the "Agende" which was a reprint of that of Wittenberg. A year later a reprint of Luther's Catechism left the Kronstadt press. In Hermannstadt the Burgomaster, Peter Haller, the descendent of a family of Nuernberg patricians, became the leader. In 1543 the city adopted the Lutheran faith, and a church visitation held in 1543 and 1544 strengthened the Reformation. In 1547 Balth. Altenberger

was called as city pastor. In Mediasch the monks were expelled in 1543. In Bistritz the city pastor, Fleischer, helped introduce the new doctrine (1541-1545). In 1547 the Lutheran pastors convened at Hermannstadt and conferred about the regulations for the new church. Upon the basis of these deliberations Honter revised his *Formula Reformationis* and republished it with the title: *Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transilvania oder Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Siebenbuergen.* The 'National University' in 1550 made it the authentic church regulation and declared it binding upon all congregations in Transylvania. From that time on Luther's Catechism was the official textbook for religious instruction in all churches and schools. Honter's printery furnished the necessary copies.

As the German "Saxons" so also most of the Magyars of Transylvania proper and of Lower Hungary embraced the evangelical faith. At the Synod of Klausenburg in 1557 all of them declared themselves as being in harmony with the Lutheran view of the Sacraments, and the first to sign this declaration of faith were the three Superintendents (M. Sebastianus Boldius, pastor ecclesiae Dei Boeltekiensis ac superintendens ecclesiarum Christi in inferiori Pannonia; Matth. Heblerus, pastor ecclesiae Cibiniensis ac superintendens ecclesiarum Dei nationis Saxonicae in Transylvania; Franciscus Davidis, pastor ecclesiae Claudiopolitanae ac superintendens ecclesiarum Christi nationis Hungariae in Transylvania). But who furnished the necessary literature for the Lutheran Magyars? For it we are in debt to Caspar Helt, or Heltai, the city pastor of Klausenburg. He was a true "Saxon," having been born in Heltau in Transylvania, had studied in Wittenberg (1543), had become the reformer of Klausenburg and had established a printery there which he placed entirely in the service of the Reformation and of Magyar literature. The first book which he printed was Luther's Catechism adorned with excellent

woodcuts. It left the press in Magyar in 1550, in 1551 in German, and in 1553 even Luther's Large Catechism followed in Magyar. After 1551 he also published the Bible in Magyar (Teutsch, *Geschichte,* I, 276). Perhaps no one in the 16th century did more than Heltai for Magyar literature and for the awakening of the Magyar national spirit.

After 1557 Calvinism and Unitarianism began to exert a powerful influence upon Lower Hungary and Transylvania. The same Franciscus Davidis who in 1557, as we saw above, had signed the Lutheran declaration at Klausenburg, became a Unitarian, and in 1570 even Heltai followed him. In 1564 the Reformed Church received equal rights and privileges with the Lutherans, and in 1571 the same concession was made to the Unitarians. Those who remained true to Lutheranism,—most of them were Saxons—, in 1572 accepted the Augustana as their confession of faith and made M. Lucas Ungleich their "bishop." The *Formula Pii Consensus inter pastores ecclesiarum Saxonicarum* of 1573 is an abridgement of the Augustana. The adherents of this Formula continued to use Luther's Catechism in church and school, and it is most gratifying to note what these 'Saxons', who dwelt upon 'the threshold of the Turk', were able to do for their schools. They did much more than was done in many districts of the German Mother-Church, for even many villages acquired good schools and teachers who devoted their entire time to their school. The Church-Order of 1547 has an excellent chapter on the establishment and care of schools; likewise the *Formula Pii* of 1572; both strongly emphasize instruction in the Catechism (Teutsch, *Geschichte* I, p. 336ff., and Teutsch, *Siebenbuerger Schulordnungen*).

The leaders of the Lutherans of Transylvania were not unmindful of their missionary duty toward the Rumanians who lived among them and toward the Greek Church to which these belonged. Benkner, the city judge of Kronstadt, had the Gospels translated into Rumanian and published Luther's

Catechism in that language (1559, 1560). His successor upon the bench, Lukas Hirsch, arranged for the publication in Rumanian of a volume of sermons and also of the Gospels. A Rumanian catechism had already appeared at Hermannstadt in 1544. Wurmloch of Bistritz wrote to Dr. Hess, the reformer of Breslau, in 1546: "Translatus est Catechismus in linguam Walachicam atque impressus Cibinii characteribus, ut vocant Racianicis, qui quasi referunt formam Graecarum litterarum. Et multi ex sacerdotibus amplectuntur eum libellum tamque sacrosanctum; multi autem porsus contemnunt" (Teutsch, *Geschichte*, I, p. 334f.). The same missionary spirit inspired Valentin Wagner, the co-worker of Honter in Kronstadt, to write a catechism in Greek, which upon Melanchthon's suggestion he sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople (Teutsch, *Geschichte*, I, p. 334). Whether this was a translation of Luther's Catechism or an independent work, we do not know.

**Poland and the Baltic Provinces.** Since the "Union of Lublin" in 1569, Poland and Lithuania were united, so that the Kingdom of Poland extended from Krakau and Lemberg to Riga and Dorpat and from Danzig and Posen down to Kudak and Poltawa, and northwest to Smolensk and almost to the fountainheads of the Wolga river. We have thus to deal here primarily with Little Poland, Greater Poland, and the Baltic Provinces.

Krakau was the center of activities in *Little Poland*. The lively mercantile connections between Krakau and Nuernberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Straszburg and the intercourse of the professors at the University of Krakau with those of the homeland of the Reformation explain how it was possible that the waves of the new movement reached Krakau as early as 1519. Luther's writings made a profound impression, but also the publications of the theologians of southern Germany, and even those of Switzerland, were read. The catechism of Jacob Otther was sold in Krakau as early as 1530 (see Reu

I, 1, 296, 844 and I, 3, 103). From 1530 to 1555 the influence of Wittenberg was the dominating one. In 1555 the Evangelical pastors of Little Poland held their first Synod. After the Reichstag at Petrikau in 1552 the evangelical congregations multiplied rapidly. At the Reichstag of Petrikau in 1555 religious freedom was proclaimed. The following years brought so speedy a development of the Reformation in Little Poland and Lithuania that the evangelical congregations could be divided into fourteen large districts. Of these eight belonged to Little Poland (Krakau, Sendomir, Zator and Oswiecim, Lublin and Chehn, Red Russia and Podolia, Belz, Wolhynia, Kiew) and six to Lithuania (Wilna, Nowogrodeck, beyond Wilna, Podlachia, Samogitia, White Russia). The catechisms used were those of Urban Rhegius (I, 3, 96 and 593-627), of Brenz (I, 3, 104), and of Luther. We know that in Koenigsberg and later also in Greater Poland (see below) Polish translations of the Small Catechism appeared that were intended for the entire territory where the Polish language was used. Such a translation appeared in 1536 in Krakau. We also know that in 1554 the Small Catechism was printed by Bernhard Wojewodka as far to the east as Brest. The influential Count Nikolaus Radziwill, who also provided for the publication of the Bible in Polish, no doubt did everything in his power to give the Catechism printed in one of his possessions (Brest) the widest circulation. Krasinsky (p. 310) also mentions a translation of the Small Catechism into Lithuanian-Russian which had been made by Simon Budey. Budey later became a Unitarian. While the evangelical Church of Little Poland until 1555 accepted the Augustana (according to Melanchthon's and Butzer's interpretation (I, 3, 104)), Calvinism from this time on gained the upper hand, and more and more reformed catechisms were put into circulation. The Heidelberg Catechism was translated by Andreas Prazmowsky, the senior pastor in Kujawia, and under the influence of Lasco,

who had meanwhile returned to his home in Poland, a version of the catechism for Emden (I 3, 1176-1191) was put into use. Later many of the Reformed theologians and congregations turned to Unitarianism. They built up in this territory a well organized church life which flourished until 1660 (concerning their catechisms see I 3, 105ff.).

Reformation endeavors in *Greater Poland* centered in Posen. Already in 1518 a small circle here was informed concerning Luther's attacks upon Rome. The well organized school of higher learning at Posen did much for the promulgation of Luther's teaching. The most influential teacher was Chr. Hegendorf (1530-1535). In 1533 he published his *Elementa Pietatis* (I 3, 94). About 1550 there were Lutheran congregations in Posen, Meseritz, Schwerin, Bentschen, Braetz, Bauchwitz, Birnbaum, etc. (I 3, 96f.). In 1565 they formed a synod; in 1570 they affiliated themselves with the Sendomir Union, but in their own circle they continued to adhere to the Augustana. They used the small and the large catechism of Sekluzyan (1545 and 1547; see I 3, p. 50-52), and the catechism of Maletius (1546, I 3, p. 53). But they also used Luther's Small Catechism, which had already been translated into Polish in 1530, then again in 1533 by Liberius Schadilka, in 1562 by Radomski, and in 1571 by H. Maletius (1574, 1593, 1615, 1622, see I 3,45 to 63). In 1561 the same Maletius translated into Polish the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, that excellent commentary upon the Small Catechism.

*The Baltic Provinces.* The Duchy of *Samogitia* was formerly a province of Lithuania, but after 1569 it came under the jurisdiction of Poland. In religious and ecclesiastical matters it was influenced by Duke Albrecht of Prussia. When Duke Albrecht had the Catechism and other evangelical literature translated into the Lithuanian, he did so mainly for the sake of his subjects in the neighborhood of Tilsit, Ragnit, and Insterburg, who spoke the Lithuanian tongue. But he

also had in mind the dissemination of evangelical truth among the Lithuanians in Samogitia and in other parts of the Grandduchy of Lithuania. At his behest Martin Mosvidius published a catechism in Lithuanian in 1547 and dedicated it "ad magnum ducatum Lithuaniae." This catechism contained the text of the Five Parts, and the Scripture for the Office of the Keys and the Table of Duties. Now and then it adds an explanatory note, for instance, a definition of Baptism. The second half of the little book consisted of hymns. A nephew of Mosvidius, Barth. Willent, later translated the entire Small Catechism—we still have the edition of 1579—and in 1579 the Gospel and Epistles of the Church Year (13, 42, 43). Here again the Reformation gave a nation its first literary monument, and again it was a catechism! Later a polyglot edition of the Catechism was issued, giving the text in German, Latin, Polish, and Lithuanian.

*Courland* touches upon Samogitia in the north. The southwestern part of Courland with the city of Libau was between 1560 and 1609 a pawn in the hands of Albrecht of Prussia and his successors. Consequently the catechetical regulations of Albrecht had also to be respected here. The Small Catechism and the Nuernberg Sermons for Children were officially introduced. The remaining portion of Courland was ruled by Duke Gotthard Keller, the last Master of the German Order of Livonia. Keller, however, recognized Poland's supremacy. He regulated church and school by the Church-Order of 1570. The official textbooks for religious instruction were Luther's Catechism and J. Spangenberg's explanation. In the schools at Mitau, Goldingen, and Selburg the Catechism was used in German and Latin, otherwise in German and 'un-German', i. e., in Courlandish or Lettish: *"Der kleine Katechismus Luthers, deudsch und undeudsch, muss, neben einfacher Auslegung der Evangelien, allezeit fleiszig getrieben werden."* To make the execution of these orders possible,

Johann Rivius translated Luther's Catechism, Psalms and hymns and then also the epistle and gospel lessons into Lettisch. They were printed after his death (1586 and 1587). All subsequent Lettish translations of the Small Catechism down to our own times are based upon the work of Rivius. Here again the literary life of a language began with the Catechism (I 3, 69-75).

In *Livonia* and *Esthonia* the leaders decided for the Reformation as early as 1524 at the diet of Reval. Under Wilhelm, the brother of Albrecht of Prussia, and under the influence of Riga, where Knopken and Briesmann labored, the decision was reached to follow Luther and Wittenberg. That assured the use of Luther's Small Catechism for the German speaking population. For the Esthonians and the Livonians the pastors translated the Catechism into the language of the people. We know that this was done for decades, but whether any of these translations were ever printed in the 16th century, is doubtful, although some believe the first printing to have been made as early as 1545. The two oldest editions of the Catechism in Esthonian that have come down to us are dated 1632 and are based upon manuscripts that circulated in the 16th century (I 3, 75-77).

**Denmark, Norway, and Iceland.** In Denmark the first attempt "to purge religion and to recall the clergy from meddling with the affairs of state to the service of the Church" was made by King Christian II (1513 to 1523), a nephew of the Elector of Saxony. He called from Wittenberg two evangelical preachers, Reinhard and Karlstadt. But he was not successful, for his efforts at reformation ended with his dethronement by the clergy and the nobility. His successor, Frederick I (1523-1533), at first was restrained by the promise given the estates at the time of his election not to take any steps that would harm the old religion. After 1526, however, he openly espoused the Reformation, favored Hans Tausen,

one of Luther's pupils, later known as 'the Danish Reformer,' and at the Reichstag of Odense in 1527 he granted Lutherans equal rights with the old Church. At the Reichstag of Copenhagen in July 1530, 21 Lutheran pastors led by Tausen submitted the '43 Copenhagen Articles (Confessio Hafnica) as their confession of faith. Christian III (1536-1559) who had emerged victorious from the civil war which broke out after the death of Frederick I, took the decisive step. On the 20. August 1536 he arrested the bishops and freed them only after they had surrendered all rights and all property pertaining to their stations and had promised upon the penalty of death to offer no further resistance to the Reformation. The Reichstag of Copenhagen the 15. to 20. October declared the abolition of the Catholic Religion and decreed the introduction of Lutheranism as the sole state religion. Bugenhagen was called to organize the new Church (1537-1539). The 'Kirchenordinantie' which in part was the work of Tausen was revised and adopted at the Reichstag of Odense in 1539. From now on "God's pure word, consisting of Law and Gospel, was to be the rule of doctrine and life." After 1574 Luther's Small Catechism was numbered among the confessional books to which the clergy were obliged to subscribe.

That Luther's Catechism was introduced into the churches and schools of Denmark may be concluded from this development; however, we have definite proof that this was done. We know four Danish translations of the Catechism that appeared between 1532 and 1538. Even before 1532 a small catechetical work had been published. It bore the title: *"Catechismus pueris in templo et scholis recitandus"* and the date 1531. It was reprinted in 1538 in Malmö, and again in Copenhagen in 1550 (see Brunn, *Bibliotheka Danica,* 1872, I p. 158). It had only the text of the Catechism without Luther's explanation, but was supplied with a section on Confession. Then in 1532 Luther's Small Catechism appeared

in the translation of Joergen Jensen Sadolin, who at that time was the pastor and later the bishop of Odense on the island of Fünen. It was published with the approbation and the authority of Bishop Gyldenstiern of Odense who at that time was still a Catholic, but who nevertheless in the preface admonished his clergy to use it diligently. Perhaps this was the reason why the translation nowhere mentions Luther's name and why Luther's preface is omitted and replaced by Gyldenstiern's and the book is characterized as presenting "the old doctrine of the true holy Church." The title was as follows (I give it in English): "A Catechism, or the old doctrine of the true holy Church together with certain good counsel concerning its proper establishment and treatment, given out by the honorable and well-born gentleman, Sir Knud Gyldenstiern, duly elected Ordinarius and bishop of the diocese Fünen to his synod of preachers in Odense, on the second of Trinity of the year etc., 1532. Translated into the Danish by Joergen Jensen, at that time preacher in the same city. Accompanied with a Christian admonition to the preachers at the beginning of the book and at the end with a warning concerning an examination in the well known 30 articles, likewise in accordance with the oral command of the same gracious gentleman." The book consisted of four sections: 1. The admonition to the clergy in Fünen; 2. The Five Chief Parts with Luther's explanation; 3. Suggestions concerning the use of this catechism in the church service; 4. The 30 articles according to which the pastors were to be examined. The second section presents the Five Chief Parts of Luther without addition; Confession is not mentioned; in the Lord's Prayer the introduction is there, but Luther's explanation is missing. The translator therefore used an edition that had appeared before 1531. Sadolin states in the preface that he translated the Catechism as it had formerly been printed in German and Latin. Comparison shows that the

Latin edition he had in mind was the first Latin translation that had originally appeared in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum* of 1529. This Latin translation was of great influence in Denmark. It appeared in Latin-Danish also in 1616, 1617, 1626, 1666, 1692, and 1729; undoubtedly it was often reprinted in the 16. century also. The translations of Womordsön and Palladius of 1537 and 1538 likewise were based upon this Latin text. That is not surprising when we call to mind that Paul Helie already in 1526 translated Luther's *Betbuechlein* into Danish, for after having become accustomed to this book, it was only natural that they should also acquire it in the Latin form in which it appeared in 1529 having the title *"Enchiridion Piarum Precationum"* and containing the first Latin translation of the Five Chief Parts.

In the year 1537 Franciscus Wormordsön made a new translation and had it printed in Malmö. The title read (in English translation): "The Small Danish Catechism which shall be read word for word by all preachers before the assembled congregation after the sermon, especially on Sundays as it is hereinafter set down and translated into the Danish by Francisco Wormordi. Printed in the royal city of Malmö 1537." Unfortunately only a mutilated copy has come down to us. So far as one is able to judge, the book was composed of two parts, in the first of which the author sets forth in detail what the pastors should read to the congregations, while in the second he gives the explanation of the Five Chief Parts (Bang, I p. 133-155).—In the same year, 1537, Petrus Palladius presented his Church with a translation of a part of Luther's Catechism. He had studied in Wittenberg from 1531 to 1537 and was consecrated Bishop of Seeland in 1537. The title was as follows: "The Small Danish Catechism, which all parish clerks (*sognedegne-Kuester*) should teach to the young people of their congregations at the time and place fixed by the pastor. 1537" (reprinted in Bang I, p.

165f.). It contained 1. Directions for the parish clerks; 2. The first three Chief Parts of Luther's Catechism, though somewhat expanded; 3. The Words of the Institution of Baptism and Holy Communion; 4. Bugenhagen's instruction upon the subject of Holy Communion. In 1538 Palladius published the entire Catechism of Luther with the preface of Bugenhagen. This became the official Danish edition of the Catechism for the 16. century. For this reason we give the title in the Danish original: *"Enchiridion, sive Manuale ut vocant. Een Haandbog for Sogneprester, til Euangeliske kirke tioeniste. Cum praefatione Doctoris Pomerani. D. M. Luth.* 1538." At the end we read this printer's note: "Prentet i Kiöbmenhaffn aff Hans Wingaard, i det ny klostersträde böndis. den Tiende Dag Junij H. G. H. V. D. A." Here we have the following contents: 1. Bugenhagen's dedicatory preface: "Venerandis in Christo viris et dominis Ecclesiarum Daniae et Norwegiae, Superintendentibus dominis et fratribus suis"; 2. the Five Chief Parts with Luther's explanation, including the introduction to the Lord's Prayer with Luther's explanation and the section upon Confession inserted between the Fourth and Fifth Chief Parts; 3. the morning, evening, and table prayers; 4. the Table of Duties; 5. the Marriage-Booklet; 6. the Baptism-Booklet; 7. A short concluding word to all pastors by Palladius. While the earlier editions, which were influenced by the Latin translation in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum,* failed to use the question-and-answer form, this official text employs that form. Now the text of 1531 was being followed. The book was often reprinted, for example, 1556, 1557, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1575, 1586. (This edition bears the title: *"Doct. Mart. Luther Enchiridion. En liden Catechismus eller christelig Laerdom. Copenhagen, Laur. Benedickt;"* it is not in the 'Bibliotheka Danica,' but a copy is extant in Oslo), 1594, 1601, 1608, 1617, 1641, 1649, 1662. After 1628 this text was gradually supplanted by one that had been re-

vised by Resen. In 1541 Palladius wrote his *"Catechismus pro parochis Norwegiae,"* an independent work based on the traditional texts. A copy of it is in the university library at Rostock, and according to my catalog of the *Catechetica* of the university library at Oslo, there is a copy also in that place. According to the foreword of this catechism Palladius promised to write an explanation of the Small Catechism for the use of pastors. According to some it appeared in 1541, but I have never seen a copy of it. It is possible that it is to be identified with a Copenhagen edition of 1546 (Hans Vingaard) of which there is a copy in Oslo; the title is: *"En kort catechismi udlaeggelse."* Niels Hemmingsen, the well known Danish Theologian, published a catechism before 1560 for the Latin schools, which was widely used; however, it was not an explanation of Luther's Small Catechism. As late as 1605 Luther's Large Catechism in the edition of Johann Spangenberg (I 2, 293, 299ff) was printed in Danish. Otherwise we mention only an edition that had been approved by the faculty at Copenhagen: *"En sand enfoldig oc ordenlig Forklaring offner Catechismum. Ved Peder Lauritzen* 1594."

*Norwegian* editions of the Small Catechism were not necessary, for at this time Norway was a part of Denmark and had practically the same language. In 1528 a German monk named Antonius had preached the gospel in Bergen; Herman Frese and Jens Viborg, a Dane, followed him in 1529. At the Reichstag of Copenhagen in 1536 Christian III declared Norway a Danish province, and in 1539 the Danish Church-Order with a few changes was introduced in Norway; it was not until 1814 that Norway received an Order of its own. When in 1538 Palladius published his translation of Luther's Catechism and Bugenhagen wrote the preface, the latter directed his remarks not only to the pastors in Denmark, but also to those of Norway. Thus we are fully justi-

fied in saying that Luther's Small Catechism after 1538 was the official text book of religious instruction for Norway.

Since the 14th century *Iceland* also belonged to Denmark, and between 1540 and 1551 Christian III introduced the Reformation into that country, indeed more by force than by convincing the people of the truth of the Gospel. After 1551 the Danish Church Order of 1537 was also established law in Iceland. In the vanguard of those who strove to win the hearts of the Icelanders for the Gospel was the Norwegian Odd Gottskalksson. He had studied in Germany, and upon his arrival in Iceland, translated into Icelandic Luther's New Testament. He did so while he still resided at the court of the Catholic Bishop Palsson in Skalholt (1521-1542). The translation appeared in print 1540. In 1552 the first Lutheran Bishop of Holar published the gospel and epistle lessons in Icelandic. Gissar Einarsen, likewise educated in Germany and later the first Lutheran Bishop of Skalholt, translated parts of the New Testament; Gudbrandr Thorlaksson, Bishop of Holar, later published the entire Bible, and also a number of the writings of Luther, Justus Jonas, Huberinus, Urban Rhegius, and others and had them printed on his press at Holar. This may be gathered from a letter written to him by Phillip Nicolai in 1606. After the opening of the schools for higher learning at Holar (1552) and at Skalholt (1553), Luther's Catechism no doubt was put into use in Latin translation. According to the *Historia litteraria Islandiae, auctore Halfdano Einari, Havniae et Lipsiae,* 1786, p. 216f., Odd Gottskalksson translated the Catechism into Icelandic, and also the Nuernberg Sermons for Children. Gottskalksson died in 1556, but the Sermons for Children were printed six years after his death at Breidabolster. A Latin-Icelandic print of the Small Catechism, of 1708, is mentioned by Langemack, II, 276. Reference may be made to *Allgemeine Bibliothek der neuesten theologischen Literatur,* vol. 8, Quedlinburg

1787, p. 84, and Helgasons, *Islands Kirke fra Reformationen til vore Dage,* 1922.

**Sweden and Finland.** The pioneer of the Reformation in Sweden was Olaus Petri (1493-1552), who after a short sojourn at the University of Leipzig in the late summer of 1516 matriculated at the University in Wittenberg where he was an eye-witness of the most important events of the Reformation. Upon his return home in the fall of 1518, he at first functioned as 'Chancellor,' i. e., as a legal and political adviser, and as the archivist of the Bishop of his native city, the influential Mathias of Straengnaes. After Mathias had fallen the first victim of the Stockholm massacre, Petri labored at Straengnaes as pastor and teacher of the cathedral school. Under the protection of the influential Archdeacon Andreae (Lars Anderson), Petri was able in a quiet way to carry on his reformatory work. Political and financial considerations prompted Gustav Vasa, who had been elected king at the Reichstag of Straengnaes in 1523, to favor the Reformation. Olaus was called to Stockholm where he labored together with the German *Magister* Nicolaus Stecker, who had been born in Eisleben and had studied in Wittenberg. Petri was particularly effective in his preaching; but he was also soon to place his pen in the service of the evangelical cause. Then came the Reichstag of Västeraes of 1527. "It was one of those moments for the fatherland, in which the judgement of God decides the fate of a nation for centuries to come." Here the National Church of Sweden was founded, in which "the pure word of God was to be everywhere preached." This meant of course that all opposition to the accused evangelical preachers was dropped. The Synod of Orebro in 1529 established regulations governing discipline, preaching, and the church service, but it also gave consideration to the schools, and duly stressed evangelical instruction as an important feature of school work. In the same year Olaus

Petri's Agenda (Kyrkohandbok) appeared and in 1530 his Postil (his own work), which was followed in 1531 by *The Swedish Mass, As It Is Now Held At Stockholm.* The New Testament in Swedish he had already published in 1526. In 1531 Laurentius Petri, the younger brother of Olaus, was elected the first evangelical bishop of Sweden. Indeed, there were still bitter struggles to be faced which are characterized especially by the name of Normann. At the Reichstag at Västeraes in 1544 the separation from Rome was accentuated by the order prohibiting the invocation of saints, the masses for the dead, and the use of holy water. In 1561 Archbishop Laurentius Petri drew up a Church Order, the basis of which perhaps goes back as far as 1546. It is probable that it became immediately authoritative even if it was officially accepted only in 1571, when it became a part of the Swedish Church Order. Between 1561 and 1571 Laurentius Petri engaged in severe struggles with the Cryptocalvinists. The still greater danger of a Counter-Reformation between 1575 and 1593 was definitely disposed of by the Council of Upsala in 1593; here the Church Order of 1571 was confirmed and the pure Word of God, the three symbols of the old Church, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession declared to be the foundation of the Swedish Church. This was nothing less than the victory of Lutheranism after years of struggle.

What was done during this entire period in the matter of catechetical literature? The first book appeared in 1526 with the title: *Een nyttugh underwijsning* (Useful Instruction). It reproduces in part Luther's *Betbuechlein,* but the major portion of it is the original work of Olaus Petri, who with the publication of this little book became the founder of evangelical education in Sweden. A little later but still in the same year there appeared a Swedish translation of the Low German edition (1524) of the Questions for Children which had been issued originally by the Bohemian Brethren.

The translation is hardly the work of Olaus Petri, but he supplied it with skilful amplifications. Then followed *En liten katechismus eller undervisning pa de stijcken som en christen permest pahaenger* (A Small Catechism or Instruction In Those Things that Most Concern the Christian). This catechism was written by Olaus Petri and added to his Postil of 1530. It was a handbook for pastors and it must be regarded as an original work of Olaus Petri, his indebtedness to Luther, especially to the Large Catechism, notwithstanding. Here for the first time we have Five Chief Parts in the order established by Luther. Seven years later (1537) Petri published *Een undervisning och kennedom for eenfaldigt folk* (Instruction For Common Folk) which was reprinted at Rostock as late as 1590. But when was Luther's Small Catechism translated into Swedish for the first time? Wahlfisk (1889) and Bang (1893) believed that Laurentius Petri, the younger brother of Olaus Petri and first Swedish Archbishop, had translated it in 1548. This was rejected by Thedding (1909) who designated the year 1568. But before Thedding, Lundstroem (1897), and after him Holmquist (1913, Hauck's R. E., vol. 24, p. 470) regarded an earlier date as more probable. The latter writes: "It appears that a still older (older than that of 1568 or 1572) translation existed, which, having been suggested by Normann, was probably made by Archbishop Laurentius Petri in the fifteen-forties." This was agreed to by Lundström who in his *Universitaetsprogramm, Doctor Martin Luther's Enchiridion* (1915), p. 55, states that "there are many indications that between 1540 and 1550 Luther's Small Catechism was known, used, and loved in Sweden." He too believed that it was introduced during the Normann period. At the same time he began to doubt more and more that Laurentius Petri was the translator (*Historisk-Kritisk Utredning,* p. 69-84, especially p. 77) even though he was unable to ascribe the work to any one in particular. In 1913

Holmquist could still designate the edition of 1572 as the oldest that has come down to us, but in 1915 Ragnar Dahlberg discovered an edition of 1567 in the University library at Helsingfors. It has the title: *Catechismus eller Christeligh kennedom foer vngt och eenfoldigt folck ganska nyttigh. Item een liten Bönebook.* This time it is part of the Svenska Psalmeboken and at the end it has the date 1567. Bound together with the hymnbook, of which the Catechism is a part, is an edition of the gospel and epistle pericopes, likewise of 1567. The text of the Catechism coincides with that of 1572. Dahlberg and Lundström give a reprint. This edition first offers the 19. Psalm and the text of the Five Parts without explanation. Then follow the Five Parts with Luther's explanation, together with the introduction of the Lord's Prayer with its explanation; Confession inserted between Baptism and Holy Communion; Morning, Evening, and Table Prayers; and the Table of Duties. It is in the form of question and answers, as is the official Danish Catechism of 1538 and follows the Wittenberg edition of 1531; but it also has this in common with the official Danish text that it is influenced by the first Latin translation in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum.* Thus both Scandinavian translations rest upon the same basis. We find the text of 1567 reprinted in *The Svenska Psalmboken,* which appeared at Luebeck (Balhorn) in 1586. For further editions see Bang I, p. 45 ff., and Lundström, p. 370ff. The edition of 1641 (*Paulini Gothi recensio*) contained several changes in the text; thus the introductory words in the First Chief Part (I am the Lord thy God) are given, and, like the Danish-Norwegian edition of 1575, the section on Confession comes after Holy Communion. A find of Nat. Fransén recently led us back twenty years beyond the edition of 1567. According to his essay: *Den första svenska katekesen. Dokumentarisk lösning på en gammol stridfråge* in his book *Kyrkans framtid* (Stockholm 1926, pp. 98-105), he found in the royal

library at Stockholm the proof sheets of an *Evangelienbuch,* which had been printed in 1544, and in connection with it parts of Luther's Catechism. This proves that the surmise of Lundström and Holmquist was correct: Luther's Catechism appeared in Swedish for the first time as early as 1544 if not earlier still. Of expositions of the Small Catechism in this period we name just two: Petrus Johannis Gothus translated the excellent exposition of Johann Tetelbach from the German to the Swedish (trykt i Rostock af Stefan Möllman, 1600; reprinted in Upsala in 1618) and Enoch Hagujaj, pastor in Svanhals, translated the Sermons on the Catechism of Moses Pflacher into Swedish (Drykt i Rostock af Stefan Möllman, Anno 1610). For both see I 1, 440 ff.; 667 ff.; I 2, 122 f.; I 1, 845.

Since the 14th century the history of *Finland* was closely connected with that of Sweden, for politically Finland belonged to Sweden. It was perhaps as early as autumn 1523 that Petrus Skärkilax, a man of evangelical sentiments, came to Abo, the city of Bishop Erik Svenson, a man friendly to ideas of reform. Through the influence of Gustav Vasa Skärkilax soon found a position in the Cathedral Chapter House, somewhat as Olaus Petri had done in Sweden. He had studied in Rostock and Wittenberg and had become an adherent of the Reformation. The successor of Erik Svenson as Bishop was Martin Skyte, likewise a man of evangelical mind; he is regarded as the first evangelical Bishop of Finland (1527 to 1550). The real reformer of Finland, however, was Martin Agricola (1510-1557). Stirred by the example and influence of Skärkilax, he had gone to Wittenberg to study upon the suggestion of Skyte. After his return in 1539 he was made rector of the school at Abo and later Bishop of the same place. He gave his nation its first literature: an ABC book, a catechism, a prayer book, and the New Testament. Cederberg leaves it an open question ("wie man glaubt")

whether this catechism was a translation of Luther's Small Catechism; Bergroth says it was (p. p. 117, 128), and Lundström accepts this assumption and leaves only the date of publication, 1543, in doubt. The circumstance that the next catechism to appear, namely that of Juusten, had the title: "*Catechism, a Renewed Translation*" speaks at all events for this assumption. The life work of Agricola was continued by Paul Juusten, who likewise had studied at Wittenberg. He was Bishop of Viborg from 1554 until 1563 and Bishop of Abo from 1564 until 1576. Two years before his death (1574) he also wrote a catechism. If Bergroth has given the title correctly (*Catechism, a Renewed Translation*), then it could scarcely have been anything else than a revised translation of Luther's Catechism. His second successor in the bishopric was Ericus Erici (1583-1625). Erici wrote a detailed catechism for the clergy, concerning which Cederberg said that "even today it bears witness to the sound pedagogical views of the author." What relation it sustains to Luther's Catechism, Cederberg does not say. But here the excellent bibliography of Gustav Adde, which Lundström incorporates with his work of 1917, comes to our assistance. He gives the title of the book as it was issued by the publishing firm of Reusner in 1614, which was probably the first edition. It read as follows: *Catechismus eli Christilisen opin pääcappalet, lyhykäisen ja yxikerraitzen vlgostoimitoxen cansa. Cusa L. Luther-uxen vlgostoimistos . . . Ericus Erici, Episcopus Aböensis*" ("Catechism, Or the Chief Parts Of Christian Doctrine With a Brief, Simple Exposition. Edited With Luther's Explanation by Ericus Erici, Bishop of Abö). It was a book of 22 and 506 pages. In 1615 there appeared from the same publication house a small edition, which was characterized as being "very useful for the common folk" and as being "edited for the second time." Adde likewise catalogs an edition of a catechism by Ericus Erici which contained 120 pages. The

title was: *Wähä Catechismus* . . . . ("A Small Catechism In Questions and Answers Arranged For Beginners From the Finnish Catechism"). Adde names the following reprints of the Small Catechism of Ericus Erici: Stockholm (J. Meurer) 1630, 1650 resp. 1652; Stockholm (F. Bergman) 1682. Another edition was printed in Abo in 1654 by P. Wald. I personally know of the polyglot edition (Latin, German, Swedish, Finnish) of the Small Corpus Doctrinae of Judex of 1642, which of course pre-supposes the use of the Catechism of Luther. A Latin edition of Luther's Catechism with exposition for the Gymnasium at Abo of 1628, resp. 1634, is named by Adde (p. 422). The title is: *Explicatio Catecheseos Minoris D. Lutheri ad rudiorum captum a M. Thoma Florino, Theologiae L. in Gymnasio Aboensi Anno* 1628 *publice proposita.* That the Finns were conscious of their missionary duty is shown by the circumstance that the Catechism was edited in Finnish, but with Slavic characters, which edition was intended for the inhabitants of the eastern districts (Lundström, 1917, p. 415 f.).

The Catechism was also translated into *Lapp.* This information is given in the bibliography of Lapp literature prepared by J. Ovigstad and K. B. Wiklund (Helsingfors 1899). Adde also mentions a catechism in Russian which was printed in 1628 in Stockholm. It has the title: Κατήχησις, which is a Greek word meaning in Russian: "Summary of Christian Doctrine; What a Man Should Learn and Know For the Salvation of His Soul." Whether this catechism contains Luther's Catechism or not I am unable to say, as I do not now have to hand the *Kyrkohist. arsskrift,* 1911, where on page 125ff. more definite information is given.

**England.** The beginnings of the Reformation in England are bound up with the activities of Erasmus in that country. He had returned to England in 1510 and for four years was professor of Theology and of Greek at Queen's College, Cam-

bridge. By his emphasis upon the necessity of translating the Bible into all languages and by his later reference to Luther's writings which as early as 1520 had been brought into England in large numbers, Erasmus to some extent paved the way for the Reformation. Soon a circle of capable young men at Cambridge and later also at Oxford was won over. The index of forbidden books of 1529 names more than twenty of Luther's books, which had been diligently circulated by these young men. One of them was "Luther's Catechism in Latin by J. Lonicerus" (Jacobs, p. 13) that is, the Large Catechism. Another was: *Enchiridion of Godly Prayers.* Inasmuch as no edition of Luther's *Betbuechlein* earlier than that of 1529 carried the title *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum,* which also, it will be remembered, contained the Small Catechism in Latin, we may justly conclude that both Luther's Small and Large Catechism were imported into England in Latin immediately after they appeared. William Tyndale translated Luther's New Testament into English in 1525, had it printed in Germany, and secretly sent it to England. By 1530 six editions had appeared of altogether 15,000 copies.

But King Henry VIII was an uncompromising opponent of the Reformation and he did not change his attitude when the English Church severed connection with Rome and Henry had been declared head of the English Church (November 3, 1534). For many Englishmen the acceptance of the Reformation was the logical consequence of the separation from Rome. The leaders of this party were Cranmer, since 1533 Archbishop of Canterbury, Crumwell, Latimer, Fox, and others. For the King and his party renunciation of papal sovereignty by no means implied renunciation of the Roman Faith. At first it seemed the reform party would gain the upper hand. Marshall's "A Goodly Primer" appeared in 1534, was reprinted in 1535, and for the third time in 1538 (given in *Three Primers Put Forth In the Reign of Henry VIII, Oxford,* 1848). But

the book was suppressed. It was based in part upon Luther's *Betbuechlein,* which as we know came into England in Latin translation in 1529. Of its rich contents we mention only the following: 1. A preface to the Ten Commandments; 2. The Ten Commandments; 3. The Creed; 4. The Prayer of the Lord; 5. The Salutation of Our Lady, Ave Maria. These five sections are an English translation of the "Short Form" of 1520 as Luther had incorporated it in his *Betbuechlein.* We also find here a section on "The Office of all Estates", which corresponds to 11 of Luther's divisions in the Table of Duties, although there are a number of deviations. The year 1535 saw the publication of the entire Bible: *The Bible, that is, the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, Faithfully Translated Out Of Douche and Latin into Englishe. MDXXXV.* It was the work of Miles Coverdale. The New Testament was a revised edition of Tyndale's translation; the Old Testament was based upon Luther's Bible, the Zürich Bible, and the Latin translation. In 1536 Taverner translated the Augsburg Confession and the Apology (republished by Dr. H. E. Jacobs, Philadelphia, 1888). In the same year as the result of the Convocation of Canterbury the first English Confession was published, namely the Ten Articles of 1536. They were "Articles devised by the Kinges Highest Majestie to stablyshe Christen Quietnes and Unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious opinions." They were based to a large extent upon the Augustana and the Apology, but the many concessions made in them to Lutheranism were immediately vitiated by other statements which no evangelical Christian can accept. In 1537 there followed the *Institution of a Christian Man,* usually referred to as "The Bishops' Book". The principal authors were Cranmer and Fox, the latter Bishop of Heresford. Although this book contained Roman elements, it yet represented a great triumph of Lutheranism, especially because this time the Lutheran party succeeded in silencing the Roman opposi-

tion. Even Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester and the leader of the opposition, signed the articles. Luther's Small and Large Catechism had not become known in England in vain. The explanation of the Apostles Creed and other parts of "The Bishop's Book" are obviously based upon them, following them at times verbatim (Jacobs, p. 104ff.). Now we understand why Marshall's *Primer* came to be republished in 1538. In 1537 two editions of Coverdale's Bible were printed. Not much later, at all events before 1539, Coverdale's *Goostly Psalms and Spirituale Songs, Drawn out of the Holy Scripture* appeared. The collection contained 41 songs of which at least 34 are of Lutheran origin; 22 are by Luther himself. That staunch Lutheran, Erasmus Sarcerius, had scarcely written his *Methodus in praecipuos Scripturae locos,* when Taverner was already bringing it out in English (London, J. Bydell, 1538).

Henry VIII at times believed it advisable for political reasons to come to a doctrinal understanding with the German princes who were united in the Federation of Smalcald, for without such an understanding the latter were unwilling to form an alliance with him. Thus he sent emissaries to Germany for this purpose. One of them was the excellent Fox, Bishop of Heresford. Since 1905 we know the articles upon which they reached an agreement with the German princes, which were subject, however, to the approval of the king (G. Mentz, *Die Wittenberg-Artikel von* 1536, *Leipzig.* 1905). They were based upon the Augustana, and at times followed it verbatim. In 1538 German emissaries were sent to England to complete these negotiations. Upon the basis of the Wittenberg Articles and of the Augustana proper, the joint committee elaborated 13 articles. But when the Germans demanded that the abolition of Roman abuses be made a subject of deliberation, the king broke off the negotiations. He desired neither a true Reformation nor the victory of Lutheranism in England. He

permitted the publication of revised translations of the Bible and the translation of certain Lutheran books into English; and yet the turning point for Henry had come. When Melanchthon by letter insisted that the abolition of abuses must be considered without delay, Henry replied with the "bloody statute" of the Six Articles of 1539. Herein the following demands were made: 1. The belief in transubstantiation; 2. The belief that Holy Communion need not necessarily be given in both kinds; 3. The belief that after a man had entered the priesthood marriage would be for him a sin; 4. The belief that vows of chastity are absolutely binding; 5. The belief in the efficacy of private masses; 6. The belief that auricular confession is compulsory. This looked like the end of the Lutheran movement in England.

But on the 28th of January 1547 Henry died, and his son Edward, a lad of ten years, became his successor. Now at last Cranmer had a free hand. The Six Articles were pratically set aside, and the work of eliminating abuses was begun. Henry had not been dead a year when the *Homilies* appeared, intended to be read in turn at the chief Sunday service. Cranmer inaugurated this arrangement because he still lacked a clergy sufficiently well founded in evangelical doctrine to permit the preaching of original sermons. One of these homilies dealt with the theme: "The Salvation of Mankind by only Christ, our Savior". It presented with great clearness the doctrine of justification by faith. In order to train the clergy for the work of religious instruction, Cranmer in 1548 published a catechism. An unknown author had already translated the *Erklaerung der 12 Artikel des Glaubens* of Urban Rhegius (First edition 1523, see I 1, 417; I 3, 560ff). The English title was: *A Declaration of the twelve articles of the christen faythe with annotations of the holy scriptures where they be grounded in. Richard Jugge for Gaualter Lynne.* The date was 1538. This little book was not intended for a catechism, but had come to be

used as such in certain German localities. Cranmer's Catechism had this title: *Catechism; That is to say a short Introduction into Christian Religion for the syngular commoditie and profyte of childre and yong people. Set forth by the moste reverende father in God Thomas Archbyschop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane. Gaualterus Lynne excudebat, 1548.* This book is very rare today, and even Burton's reprint (Oxford 1828) is not easy to obtain. The reprint issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication (Philadelphia 1842) is modernized and omits the parts on the Sacraments and the Offices of the Keys. This catechism is simply a translation of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children, based upon the Latin edition of Justus Jonas of 1539. While Cranmer was in Germany in the service of the King in 1532, he was often a guest in the home of Osiander in Nuernberg. Osiander was the principal author of the Sermons for Children. On the 14th of May Cranmer visited Nuernberg for the first time, and the manuscript of the Sermons for Children was completed on May 22. Immediately after the completion of the manuscript the sermons were read in the churches of Nuernberg, although they did not appear in print until 1533. Thus Cranmer, who also married Osiander's niece, became acquainted with them. And so after the death of Henry, when his hands were no longer tied, Cranmer translated them, or had them translated, for the use of the Church in England. Perhaps Osiander suggested it. Cranmer added the prohibition of image-worship and explained this prohibition thoroughly; he also added the introduction of the Lord's Prayer and an explanation of it, both of which were lacking in Osiander; but he omitted short sections in the exposition of the second, fourth, and seventh commandments, retaining, however, the section on the Office of the Keys between Baptism and Holy Communion. Now we know that each of the Sermons for Children summarizes the contents of the sermon in the words of Luther's Small Catechism. Cran-

mer took over this feature entire from the original (see J. C. Mattes, *Luther's Small Catechism in the English Translation of Thomas Cranmer, Philadelphia,* 1927). Thus we are justified in saying that by virtue of Cranmer's Catechism Luther's Small Catechism became the official catechism of the English Church.

One might think that the year 1548 would mark the beginning of a great future for Luther's Catechism in England, but instead of that the publication of the Catechism in 1548 rather marked the end of the Lutheran movement in England. Already in 1547 English translations of the works of Zwingli, Calvin, and Bullinger were circulated in England. During the years 1547 to 1549 theologians like Petrus Martyr, Ochino, Tremellius, Dryander, Lasko, Butzer, and Fagius had come to Cambridge. Martyr became a professor at Oxford, and Butzer and Fagius at Cambridge. The "Church Catechism" which appeared in the Liturgy of Edward VI followed the catechism-type of Brenz and Butzer, but it also leaned upon the "Dialogue between the Father and the Son" of Marshall's Primer. Indeed we find here, as also in Becon's Catechism, many traces of Luther's Catechism, but after 1549 the development was in the direction of Butzer and Calvin.

**The Netherlands and Belgium.** In the 16th century the Netherlands included the Belgium of today. Charles V. the heir of the Burgundian lands, united with them Friesland (1523), Utrecht and Upper Yssel (1529), Groningen and Drenthe (1536) and Geldern (1543). Luther's ideas and his books were already circulating in this territory in 1518, especially in the cities. Hinne Rode, the rector of the Frater School at Utrecht, Frederik Hondebeke, rector at Delft, Jakobus Spreng, prior of the Augustinians at Antwerp, Henry of Zutphen, prior of the same order at Dortrecht, Cornelius Hoen, a jurist at the Hague, and others, were the standard bearers, even if the University of Loewen in 1519 burned Luther's writings and in 1529 published the *Doctrinalis Condemnatio.*

Many of Luther's works appeared in the vernacular. The New Testament came out in a translation which was based on the Vulgate in 1522, in 1524 in an edition based on Luther's translation, and in 1525 the complete Bible appeared. In 1523 Heinrich Bomelius wrote the *Summa der godliker Scrifturen,* a work of extended influence, which was translated into many languages. Charles V, however, was filled with zeal to carry out the Edict of Worms at least in his own hereditary lands, and he suppressed as many of these promising beginnings as he could. Here the first Lutherans were to die the martyr's death: Heinrich Voss and Johann von Essen were burned at the stake on the 1st of July 1523. In 1524 the Pope established a Board of Inquisition. Of the many who died because of their faith we name only Jan de Bakker (Johannes Pistorius) of Woerden in South Holland (15. September 1525 at the Hague).

In spite of persecutions the movement grew; but the influence of Luther upon it diminished more and more, because he was unable to share the views of Hoen, Rode, and others concerning the sacraments and they had consulted with Zwingli concerning those doctrines. Then followed the Anabaptist period, and then the Calvinistic. Coming from northern France, Calvinism at first struck roots in the southern (Walloon) provinces, but later it also entered the northern (German and Dutch) parts of the country. Fugitives from England (1553-1558) strengthened Calvin's influence. In 1559 Guido de Bres published a Confession which in the doctrine of the Holy Communion and of Predestination followed in the footsteps of Calvin. This Confession was revised in 1561 and was accepted by the Reformed Synod of Antwerp in 1566 as the *Confessio Belgica.* In 1567 Alba entered the Netherlands. The persecution which he inaugurated drove many from the country to Wesel, Emden, Frankfurt, etc., but was unable to exterminate the "Church under the Cross". When the Reformed Church

of the Netherlands was organized at Emden in 1571, the "congregations under the Cross" were divided into four "classes" or districts. They were as follows: 1. The two Reformed congregations at Antwerp, those at s'Hertogenbosch, Breda, Brussels, and the remaining congregations of the province of Braband; 2. The congregations at Ghent, Ronsen, Oudenaarde, Comen, and those in other parts of East and West Flanders; 3. The congregations at Doornik, Ryssel, Utrecht, Armentiers, Valenciennes, and the remaining Walloon congregations; 4. The congregations at Amsterdam, Delft and in the remaining portions of Holland, Upper Yssel, and West Friesland. Eight years earlier (1563) the Heidelberg Catechism had appeared and was translated into the Dutch at Emden from whence it was circulated through the Netherlands. The Synod at Wesel in 1568 recommended it together with that of Calvin, while the Synod at Emden in 1571 introduced it among the German speaking congregations. After 1586 subscription to the Heidelberg Catechism became obligatory for all teachers and pastors in Holland, and the Synod of Dort on the 1st of May 1619 declared it one of the confessional books of the entire Reformed Church.

But what of Lutheranism? To say that after the Anabaptist period Luther was of no influence upon the Netherlands is contrary to the facts. In 1534 there appeared at Antwerp a translation of the catechism of Brenz. It formed a part of a book of prayers (Koehler, *Bibliographia Brentiana,* p. 28). It is probable that this prayer book contained Luther's *Betbuechlein.* If this is so, then it also contained his *Kurze Form der Zehn Gebote, des Glaubens und Vaterunsers,* for this was a part of the *Betbuechlein.* In 1545 Cornelius van der Heyden published his *Corte Instruccy,* which, as I shall show elsewhere, was based upon the the just-named *Short Form* and upon the Small Catechism. In Antwerp German merchants formed the first Lutheran congregation. Franziskus Alardus

of Brussels, so it seems, was their first pastor. But he was obliged to leave Antwerp in 1557. When in 1558 the Castle and the dominion of Woerden in southern Holland was given as security to the Lutheran Duke Erich of Brunswick by Philipp of Spain, the son of Charles V, a Lutheran congregation was founded there also. In the "Wonder Year", 1566, the Evangelicals in Antwerp were granted the privilege of conducting public worship and of building churches. About 30,000 inhabitants, in other words, more than half of the population confessed either the Calvinistic or the Lutheran faith. Although the Calvinists were in the majority, the number of Lutherans was by no means small. They called Franziscus Alardus (for the second time), Johann Ligarius, and four other preachers. They published their Confession and an Agenda which had been prepared by Cyr. Spangenberg, Flacius, and other Lutheran theologians, who had been called from Germany for that purpose. During all these years Luther's Catechism had been used secretly and openly. It was not necessary for the Lutherans of Antwerp to have the Catechism printed in Antwerp, for besides the German and Latin editions which were imported from Germany, there were plenty of Dutch editions published outside of the Netherlands which were at their disposal. Some of them had been printed by Lutherans who had fled the Netherlands, as they expressly state, for the benefit of their fellow believers who had remained. We still possess the following: 1. *Dye hooftstuken des Christen gheloofs, inhoudende het fundament der Christelijcker religien, dwelck altemale, elck Christen mensch wel behoorde van buiten te runnen, jar so vast te hebben als zijn ghet al.* This print contains the Chief Parts without the explanation (W. 30, 1 p. 793); 2. Luther's Small Catechism with explanation, of which we know at least three editions in Dutch: a) an edition *sine loco* and *sine anno,* reprinted in I 3, 1703 ff., b) a Wesel edition of 1558; this edition is named in the Antwerp *index prohibi-*

*torum librorum* of 1570, c) a print *sine loco* of 1566; 3. Luther's Large Catechism in J. Spangenberg's edition, printed in Frankfort a. M. in 1558 (I 2, 227); the preface addresses "den Christlyken Leeser int Nederlant"; 4. The Nuernberg Sermons for Children, printed at Wesel in 1567. We have, moreover, the Large Catechism of Brenz (1551), printed at Wesel in 1559. Mention must also be made here of the Small *Corpus Doctrinae* of M. Judex, Wesel 1564 (I 3, 450ff.). Finally we have an original explanation of the Five Chief Parts, written by Franziscus Alardus during his stay in Antwerp, and printed (1568) after he had been forced for the second time to leave the city (I 3, 546-560).

For unfortunately the Evangelicals of Antwerp, and therefore also the Lutherans, were again deprived of the right of a free exercise of their religion. Already on the 7th of December 1566 the government issued an order that all evangelical clergymen must leave the city. About Easter time 1567 the Lutherans held their last public service. On the 10th of April the clergy left the city and thousands of their fellow believers followed them. Many Lutherans went to Woerden mentioned above, so that the calling of a second pastor to that place became necessary. On April 22nd, 1578 the holding of public services at Antwerp was again permitted. Among others the Lutherans called Cassiodoro de Reina, that much persecuted Spaniard and famed translator of the Bible into the Spanish tongue (1569), who for the past ten years or more had lived in Basel and Frankfurt a. M. and who had at the latter place become acquainted with the Lutheran fugitives from Antwerp. Soon a flourishing congregation with seven pastors was organized. Five pastors preached in Dutch and two in French. The growth of the congregation made it seem desirable to Reina to call a special superintendent (Martin Chemnitz).

One of the first tasks that confronted Reina was the production of a catechism for children and young people. He

decided in favor of the catechism which Marbach, a man of emphatic Lutheran convictions, had prepared for Strassburg. This catechism was nothing else than Luther's Catechism with amplifications (I 1, 141ff.). It was translated into Dutch, into Latin (for the school that had begun to flourish), and into French. Plans were also made for a translation into Spanish —no doubt for the Spaniards of Antwerp, but perhaps also with the thought that it might thus reach Spain—, and there is no reason why Reina, who had the welfare of his countrymen so much at heart, should not have carried it out. The third Dutch edition already appeared in 1583 with this title: *Catechismus das is: Corte onderwijssinghe van de vorneemste Hoofstucken der Christelijken Leere: Op Vraghe ende Antwoordt gestelt. Alsoe die in de Christelijke Kercken ende Scholen der Neder-duytscher Landen, de Confessie van Ausborch toe-gedaen zynde, geleert ende gheöffnet wort . . . T'Hantwerpen, By Aernouts Coninx. Anno* 1583. *Mit Priuilegie.* The title of the Latin edition is given in I 1, 142; it was likewise printed in the same year (1583) and upon the same press, and it is at least the second printing. We have here nothing less than Luther's Small Catechism somewhat enlarged. The reader is referred to I 1, 141ff., where the most important amplifications over Luther are noted and also those over the Strassburg edition; reference is also made to I 3, 1712ff. In 1585 the catechism of Alardus (mentioned above) appeared in a new edition.

But in the same year the Duke of Parma took Antwerp after a long siege, and now the Evangelicals once more had the choice of leaving the city or of becoming Catholic. Many Lutherans fled to Frankfurt and there organized the "Dutch Congregation of the Augsburg Confession" under the leadership of Cassiodor de Reina. Still more of them went to Amsterdam, Leiden, Middelburg, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Gouda. In three of these cities they were strong enough to form inde-

pendent congregations. Ligarius, since 1586 the pastor at Woerden, was their faithful counsellor. That Luther's Small Catechism was used in Woerden cannot be doubted; the very title of the *Little Corpus Doctrinae* by Ligarius, which shall receive immediate consideration, makes definite reference to it. For Ligarius revised the *Little Corpus Doctrinae* of M. Judex and published it for his congregation. From thence it must surely have found its way into other Lutheran congregations in the Netherlands (I 3, 1739ff.). In 1588 Ligarius also wrote his handbook of instruction called *Het Christendom,* (I 3, 1725-1738) which appeared in Woerden in 1588, Peeter Gevärts, Publisher. In 1589 there followed in all probability a Dutch hymn book, which was to replace that which had been printed by Hans de Bracker in 1565 at Frankfurt. If I am not mistaken, Luther's Small Catechism was already bound together with this edition; later on this was done regularly. A few years later the Lutheran congregation at Amsterdam became the Lutheran center of the Netherlands, and here too we find Luther's Catechism in use. Adolphus Fischer who had come to Amsterdam from Antwerp wrote a series of questions and answers to be used in the confessional and upon other suitable occasions and had it printed together with Luther's Small Catechism in 1601 by the Antwerp publisher, Peeter Gevärts. The oldest edition which I have been able to find is that of 1631. Its title reads: *De Kleyne Catechismus Ofte Onderwysinge in de Christlijke leere D. Martini Lutheri. Mitegaders het kleyne Corpus Doctrinae: Om de Jonckheydt ende eenvouldige Christenen in de vorseyde Catechismus noch meer te öffenen* etc. 1631. In the second half of the not yet published introduction to I 3, I shall take further note of this catechism. Professor D. J. W. Pont in Bussum informs me that after 1649, perhaps under the influence of L. Taddel, who had come to Amsterdam from Rostock, the "Christliche Fragestuecke", usually ascribed to Luther, were added. It was an

edition of this catechism which the Amsterdam Lutherans took with them when they emigrated to America.

**France.** Even in France we find Lutheran beginnings, and in connection with them we meet Luther's Small Catechism. Faber Stapulensis with his mysticism and his emphasis upon the Bible prepared the way. Luther's bold stand in 1517, 1519, and 1521 made a profound impression; likewise his writings, which were eagerly read. Young men went to Germany in order to come into personal contact with the Reformers. Many of the books of the latter found their way through Basel into the homeland in French translations. Francis I (1515-1547) was indifferent in matters pertaining to religion and in spite of the influence of his sister Margaret of Navarra viewed all that happened from the standpoint of political expediency. Thus began the persecution of the Lutherans, and in Paris the first executions took place in 1523. Nevertheless the movement grew, especially among the nobility and the educated burghers. But the persecutions did not cease. Just at the time when Francis invited Melanchthon and Butzer to a conference with the theologians of the Sorbonne at Paris (1535), the persecutions became more severe. The Elector Johann Frederick was justified in not permitting Melanchthon to accept the invitation. This persecution prompted Calvin to publish his *Institutio Religionis Christianae* and to dedicate it to Francis I (23. August 1535). The evangelical movement prospered, but it was increasingly Geneva rather than Wittenberg that determined its course, and it bore the impress of Farel and Calvin, rather than that of Luther and Melanchthon. Among the writings of Luther that were translated into French, we find Luther's *Short Form* and his Small Catechism. The first was contained in a book of 125 leaves in octavo form, entitled: *Le livre de vray et parfaite oraison ... Imprime a Paris par maistre Simon du bois pour Christiẽ Wechel,* 1529; for it also contained: *Trois brefues exposition sur le Pater*

*noster; Une exposition sur le Ave Maria; Une exposition sur le Credo; Une exposition sur les dix Commandemens de la Loy.* As in Denmark, Sweden, England, and in the Netherlands Luther's *Betbuechlein* and with it the *Short Form* were the means whereby catechetical treasure from the mint of Luther was brought into the land, so it was in France. Luther's Small Catechism was also translated into French, perhaps as early as 1530. It is contained in a little book of 44 leaves octavo with the title: *Quatre instructions fideles pur les simples et les rudes.* It consists of four parts: *1. Lhomme fidele visitant; 2. Lhomme fidele catechisant; 3. Lhomme fidele introduisant a l'evangile; 4. Lhomme fidele psalmodiant.* The first part is Luther's preface to pastors and preachers; the second contains the Five Chief Parts, the prayers, and the Table of Duties. As in the Latin translation in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum* the question and answer form is not yet used, and the definition of the Sacrament of the Altar shows an alteration; the third part gives the section "Qui loci sint docendi pro Euangelio plantando" (Luther's Works, Weimar Edition, 10, w. pp. 343-367); the fourth presents Psalms 10, 12, 20, 25, 51, 67, and 103, which after 1522 were printed in Luther's *Betbuechlein* (see N. Weis in *Bulletin hist. et litt.* 1887, p. 664; 1888, pp. 155, 432, 500; 1894, p. 60). It is clear that the translation rests upon the first Latin translation of the *Betbuechlein* of 1529 which included the Small Catechism. Thus we have here the same situation which we found in the Scandinavian countries. While in Germany the second Latin translation of the Small catechism was the most widely circulated and the influential text, in other countries it was the first translation that occupied this position. Not that it was better than the first; it was rather because it was part of the new edition of the *Betbuechlein* which was already known in other countries. Weis feels that Lambert of Avignon was the author of the French translation of the Small Catechism which was made about 1530.

The change in the definition of the Sacrament speaks for this assumption, for Lambert during his last years inclined toward Butzer's view concerning it.

From 1397 to 1793 the country of *Montbeliard,* which lay in French territory, belonged to the Duchy of Wuerttemberg, and the Duke of Wuerttemberg introduced the Reformation into these possessions. That meant the use of the catechism of Brenz (1535), and perhaps also of Luther's. We still have a copy of the French translation of the *Catechismus illustratus* of Brenz (1551)—the short catechism of 1535 was printed at the head of it—, which was printed at Tuebingen for the French clergy of Montbeliard. For the German congregation in Montbeliard Caspar Lutz wrote his *Katechismus Kleinod* and had it printed in Montbeliard in 1591. It included Brenz' catechism of 1535 and Luther's (see I 1, 22; 167-184). Whether a separate edition of Luther's Catechism was published for Montbeliard, we do not know. Perhaps the German-French edition which was printed in 1611 in Strassburg was used, although it was originally intended for Strassburg. There were also a number of other editions of Luther's Catechism in French which were unimportant as far as France was concerned. The French translation which appeared in 1594 in Frankfurt a. M.—reprinted in 1598, 1605, 1612, 1642—was intended for the French fugitives from Antwerp (I 2, 461). The polyglot edition which Caspar Laudismann published in 1615 in Alt-Stettin contained besides a German, Latin, and Italian text, also one in French; but it had no influence upon France (I 3, 286). The same is true of the French editions which appeared in Stockholm in 1692, 1695, 1700, 1730, and 1750, for they were issued for the benefit of the French Church of Stockholm (see H. Lundström, *Historisk-Kritisk Utredning angände Luthers Lilla Katekes*, 1917, p. 422 f.).

**Spain.** The opinion which was often held in former years that Spain in the 16th century experienced a great Reformatory

movement is no longer tenable. National pride regarded evangelical heresy as high treason. Prior to 1550 only a few Spaniards who had come into contact with Protestantism outside of Spain left the Catholic Church. It was especially the close connection with the Netherlands which brought evangelical books and ideas into Spain; but the inquisition was very severe. Only in Sevilla and Valladolid do we find evangelical circles. In Sevilla there were about 130 souls, many of whom fled to Geneva in 1557. A few months later the persecution began, and most of those who had remained were imprisoned. In 1559 the first Auto-da-fé took place, and others followed in 1560 and 1562. In Valladolid the Evangelicals numbered about 60 of whom 30 were burned. By about 1562 Protestantism was exterminated.

In the index of 1564 we find the Catechism of Brenz named. It may be gathered from Schaefer, *Beitraege zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus* (II, 47, 48; III 267, 391, 481, 686), that Luther's Catechism was known and read in Spain. This does not presuppose a Spanish translation, although it is possible that the translation which was planned, and perhaps also executed, by Cassiodor de Reina (see above), actually reached Spain. The little book *Lac Spirituale* by Juan de Valdés appeared in Spanish with the title: *In qual maniera si doverebbono instituire i figliuoli de Christiani* and was placed upon the index in 1549, but it was not based upon Luther's Catechism (see I 3, 62-68). Whether the *Institution de la Religion Christiana. Impressa en Wittenberg* 1536, which is mentioned in the index of Antwerp in 1570 and to which Boehmer and following him Fr. Fricke (*Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in seiner Einwirkung auf die katechetische Literatur des Reformationsjahrhunderts,* 1898, p. 23) refer, is actually Luther's Catechism, is doubtful. If the book were not a Wittenberg edition, I should rather regard it as that of Brenz or Calvin. The first Spanish translation of Calvin's Catechism

(1541), which was published anonymously in 1550 and then brought out in revised form in 1559 and 1596, and the Catechism of Juan Perez (1556) which was based upon Calvin's (Fricke, p. 135f.), I merely pause to mention. To go further into them, would lie outside the scope of my present task.

**Italy.** Between 1525 and 1541 many of the writings of Luther and of other leading men of the German Reformation found their way into Italy and called into being an evangelical movement of no small proportions. Milan, Pavia, Ferrara, Lucca, Modena, Venice, and above all Naples, were its principal centers, and such men as Juan de Valdés, Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Martyr Vermigli, Galazzo Caracdoli, Olympia Morata, Arnio Paleario, Francesco Spiera, Vergerio, Celio Secundo Curione, and others, were its chief representatives. Juan de Valdés, who did not grow weary in emphasizing justification by faith alone, was the leader of the circle which gave to Italy the excellent tract *Beneficion di Christo,* which sold in 40,000 copies. Valdés himself was the author of the religious textbook for children mentioned under the head of Spain, *Lac Spirituale,* which was a means through which evangelical ideas were carried into many quarters. In 1530 the Catholic countre-movement began, and in 1542, a year after the death of Valdés, Pope Paul III introduced the inquisition into Italy. All adherents of Luther and of the Gospel were forced to flee. The rise of Jesuitism likewise was disastrous to the cause of Protestantism. Pope Pius V, who before his election to the papacy had been the soul of the inquisition, did all in his power to stamp out the entire movement.

Although the beginnings of the movement were influenced by Luther, Calvinistic views were making themselves felt between 1545 and 1550, and after 1550 even Anabaptism was not without a considerable following. And yet even after 1550 the Catechism of Brenz was translated into Italian (W. Koehler, *Bibliographia Brentiana,* No. 988 compared with 822 and 824),

warhafftiger Gott vom Vater in ewigkeit geboren/ vnd auch warhafftiger Mensch von der Jungfrawen Maria geborē/ sey mein HERR/ der mich verlornen vñ verdampten Menschē erlöset hat/ erworben/ vñ gewonnen von allen sündē/ vom Tod/ vnd von der gewalt des Teufels/ nicht mit Gold oder Silber/ Sondern mit seinem heiligē thewrē Blut/ vnd mit seinem vnschüldigen leiden vnd sterben/ Auff das ich sein eigen sey/ vnd in seinē Reich vnter jm lebe/ vñ jm diene in ewi-

verus Deus à Patre ante fæcula genitus, idemq; verus homo natus ex Maria virgine, sit meus Dominus, qui me perditum & damnatum hominem redemit, & ab omnibus peccatis, à morte, à potestate Satanæ liberauit, non quidem auro & argento, Sed suo sancto ac precioso sanguine, suáque immerita passione & morte: Vt ego essem proprie suus, & in suo regno sub ipso viuerem, ac liberaliter seruirem, in

per-



τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν ὁπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ πάντων αἰώνων γεννηθέντα, & τὸ ἀληθῆ ἄμα ἄνθρωπον ὁπὸ τῆς Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου ὁν τῷ αἰῶνι τεχθέντα, κύριον ἐμοῦ εἶναι, ὃς ἐμὲ ἀπολωλότα καὶ κατεγνωσμένον ἄνθρωπον ἀπελύτρωσε, καὶ ἐρρύσατο ἀπὸ πασῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀπὸ θανάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐ μὲν χρυσίῳ ἢ ἀργυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ ἁγίῳ καὶ τιμίῳ αἵματι αὐτοῦ & ἀναμαρτήτῳ παθήματι ἠδὲ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ: ἵνα αὐτῷ ἴδιος γένωμαι ἐγὼ, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ ὑπ' αὐτὸν διάγω, & αὐτῷ δουλεύω ἐν ἀι-

δίῳ

נֶאֱמָן אַתָּה מֵאָב
מֵעוֹלָם נוֹלַד וְגַם
נֶאֱמָן אֱנוֹשׁ מֵע
מֵעַלְמָה מָרְיָם
נוֹלַד אֲדֹנִי הוּא
אֲשֶׁר אוֹתִי בֶּן א
אֲבַדּוֹן וָעֹנֶשׁ וכ
פֻּרָה וּמִכָּל
חַטָּאוֹת מִמָּוֶת
וּמִיַּד הַשֵּׂד הִצִּילָנִי
אֵין בְּזָהָב אוֹ ב
בְּכֶסֶף כִּי אִם
בְּקָדוֹשׁ וְיָקָר ד
דָּמוֹ וּבְנָקִי יְסוֹרוֹ
וּמוֹתוֹ לִהְיוֹתִי סג
סְגֻלָּתוֹ וְלִחְיוֹתִי ב
בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ תַּחְתָּיו
וְלַעֲבָדוֹ בצדקה



PLATE SEVEN: Two pages of Clajus' polyglot edition, 1572

and also Luther's Small Catechism. The latter however appears after this time to have been printed only outside of Italy. We do not know when it was published for the first time in Italian. Weller says in *Altes aus allen Teilen der Geschichte* (1762, I p. 779), that it appeared anonymously. That is easily possible, for when Vergerio in 1553 prepared the Italian edition of the Catechism of Brenz, he too did not mention the name of the author on the title page. An Italian edition appeared in Tuebingen with the title: *Catechismus piocciolo di Martin Luthero, verso dal Latino in lingua Italiana, per gli fanciugli.* Sal. Sweigger (Schweigger), who in 1577 had gone as a preacher to Constantinople, made another Italian translation and had it printed in Tuebingen in 1585; in 1592 he had it reprinted at Nuernberg where at that time he was a pastor. The edition of 1585 has the date: Constaniople, the 1. January 1581 (W. 30, 1, p. 787 f.). Since there were close connections between the printeries of Tuebingen and those parts of Austria which bordered on Italy, these prints no doubt also served the purposes of propaganda. They were indeed intended for use by the Italians living in Inner Austria, but it was hoped that they might reach over into Italy itself. Calvin's Catechism was translated into Italian in 1545 and again in 1551.

Thus before the end of the 16th century Luther's Small Catechism had found its way to almost every part of Europe. This remarkable fact renders the question of its character and significance peculiarly relevant. For however much the name and the prestige of its author and its own elevation, in opposition to the Heidelberg Catechism as it were, to a place among the symbols of the Lutheran Church, may have contributed to its wide dissemination, the ultimate reason and cause must after all be sought in the unique character and in the intrinsic worth of the little book itself. The Catechism towered high above all the others round about.

# 7. The Significance of Luther's Small Catechism

IN ISSUING the Small Catechism Luther gave the Church a book of singular importance. Its great significance is found *first* in the fact that it represents **the completion of the educational efforts put forth by the Church** during the course of fifteen centuries. Although Luther did not include in his Catechism all those elements of instruction which had been employed during this period of development, he gathered all the necessary and essential material and issued it in handy and convenient form. Quite correctly he eliminated the mass of auxiliary material accumulated during the Middle Ages, retaining, however, the Decalogue which had not until lately been in universal use. Luther had a conservative and historical turn of mind; and he was well aware of the intimate relation of his catechetical work to that of the past (cf. his preface to the Short Form). This connection shows itself not only in the adoption of the doctrinal parts (Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, words of institution of the two Sacraments, in part also the prayers), but also in the wording of the catechetical texts, and, in the Third Chief Part, even in the explanation.

Thus Luther retained the traditional enumeration of the Commandments, omitting the prohibition of images and keeping separate the Ninth and Tenth Commandments; this arrangement had won favor since Augustine's time and at the close of the Middle Ages was the only one in use. He retained the abbreviated form of the first two Commandments, "Thou shalt have no other gods," "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." He did not, as is

frequently stated, cast the Third Commandment in a new form when he wrote "Thou shalt sanctify the holy day"; in this instance the improvement is found in the explanation. In the First Article he clung to the form "Vater allmaechtiger" (correct Middle High German where the attributive adjective often follows the noun), although other catechisms of his day adopted the form *Allmaechtiger Vater* which grammatically is more correct. He adhered to the words "resurrection of the flesh" though stating in the Large Catechism that "resurrection of the body" might be preferable. With all his countrymen he continued to pray *Vater Unser* (Old High German grammar places the pronoun after the noun in the vocative case) while in his German Bible he transposed the two words in harmony with the grammatical rule which gradually became recognized. He retained the more comprehensive form of the Seventh Petition "And deliver us from evil" and explains it in this sense although in the Large Catechism he states that the original speaks of the evil one, the devil; when Bugenhagen introduced this form at Wittenberg in 1533, he raised no objection. In the Fifth Petition he prays with the Christian people of his time *Verlasse uns unsere Schulde* (*Schulde* is plural) while in his German Bible he wrote *Vergib uns unsere Schuld*, the form which later gained greater currency. Finally, he omits the Doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer (it was missing in the old manuscripts and in the Vulgate, hence also in the church usage of the day), retaining and explaining only the Amen. Luther knew himself called to something greater than a reformation of linguistic forms and so he conservatively preserved whatever might safely be retained.

The traditional form, however, was no inviolate shackle for Luther. He changed the "un-German" *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen* in the Third Article into *Gemeinde der Heiligen*, and he added the Conclusion of the Ten Commandments,

which was not found at all in the traditional forms of the Decalogue, removing it from its place in the Old Testament and placing it at the end. In both instances he was actuated by pedagogic considerations which to him appeared of greater importance than devotion to the traditional form.

The **second** and most significant feature of the Small Catechism is the **profound, evangelical interpretation of its constituent parts which springs from the article of justification.**

This is made evident in the **First Chief Part** by three important points: (a) by the freedom with which he treats the Old Testament text. For in omitting the prohibition of images Luther not merely followed medieval precedent, but actually exemplified his evangelical attitude toward the Old Testament law. According to Luther, the Christian no longer needs any prohibition of image worship, and whatever permanent value it possesses, is found in the First Commandment correctly understood. Attempts have been made, are being made even in the present, to correct Luther in this matter; but they all betray more or less distinctly a legalistic trend, in harmony with the Old Testament rather than with the New. Their authors and advocates ought to study Luther's writing "Against the Heavenly Prophets; of Images and the Sacrament." Here he demonstrates with all possible clearness that the Old Testament Decalogue also contains ceremonial and civil regulations the observance of which was restricted to Israel. Among such temporary laws he classifies the prohibition of images and the Sabbath law; and he states that the Decalogue is obligatory only in so far as it corresponds to the natural law, and that therefore the New Testament determines what features are of permanent significance.

Luther's thesis is: "All the laws which Moses added to the natural law, as those concerning images and the Sabbath, are now abrogated and no longer in force because they are not part of natural law and were intended for Israel alone. An emperor or king may

give his people special laws and ordinances, like the *Sachsenspiegel* of Saxony; but natural law such as honoring one's parents, abstaining from murder and adultery, serving God, etc., is in force everywhere. France pays no attention to the *Sachsenspiegel*, yet it agrees with Saxony in the observance of natural law. Therefore let Moses remain the *Sachsenspiegel* of the Jews and let no one trouble us gentiles with it. Why then do we keep and teach the Ten Commandments? Answer: Because natural law is nowhere so well arranged as in Moses."

In the Third Commandment he ignores the concept "day" entirely. He does not consider Sunday as a substitute for the Sabbath: the Sabbath is abrogated (Gal. 4: 10 f.; Col. 2: f.). All days should be hallowed and the holy days of the Church merely serve to arrive at this end.

(b) In the second place Luther's evangelical interpretation of the Decalogue shows itself in the attitude toward the letter of the law. Luther follows the precedent set by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount: he does not stop at the individual act named in the commandment; he rather takes the sin mentioned in the commandment as the coarsest outgrowth of the wrong forbidden; he traces all sinful thoughts, words, and deeds back to sin dwelling in man's heart; he demands that the Christian battle against sin and strive after perfection. He requires of him a new attitude: external deeds may be done even by the natural man, but true Christian morality grows forth from the proper disposition of a godly heart which influences every phase of life. of life.

(c) Those two factors would suffice to lift Luther's explanation above most of the medieval explanations of the Decalogue; but its evangelical character is most plainly shown by the fact that he points out the "fear and love of God" as the one and only root of Christian morality. By "fear" he means reverence, veneration (*Ehr-*

*furcht*), or filial awe. That Luther traces the words "we should fear and love God" through all the Commandments and thus binds them into a real unity, is his unique contribution to the explanation of the Ten Commandments. Thereby an end is made of the bargaining spirit of Romanism; no longer is work added to work in the hope that the sum of them all will suffice to earn God's favor. The Christian life is no more regarded as a series of separate works, but as the organic development of that fear and love which God Himself kindled in the heart. Instead of bewildering the child, or common man, or mature Christian with an almost countless number of virtues, Luther shows him the one and indispensable requirement: the fear and love which embraces, and produces everything else. And by representing as perfectly worthless all other works if detached from this source, he emphasizes most effectively the important evangelical principle that works are not acceptable to God unless the person himself has first become acceptable.

The fairest pearl in the whole Catechism is the explanation of the **Second Chief Part,** and in the whole realm of catechetical literature we know of nothing that equals or even approaches its beauty. Here Luther's evangelical understanding of Holy Writ has found clear expression in two ways. His first merit is that he groups all the material of the Creed which up to that time had been treated as a mass of unrelated detail, around the three great saving deeds of the Triune God—creation, redemption, and sanctification. As early as 1520 Luther had divided the Creed into three parts, and most of the catechisms brought out since that time followed this method, but neither Luther nor his followers had advanced beyond a mere tripartite division; during the process of explanation they would separate the three articles again and again into a number of independent statements and ascribe to each one of them a specific redemptive significance.

In Brenz's Catechism, e. g., we read: "What benefit do you derive from this article: 'Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary'? Answer: I receive this benefit that my conception in sin is not accounted as sin in the judgment of God, and that my sinful birth is sanctified through Jesus Christ.—What benefit do you derive from this article: 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate'? Answer: That his life, in God's judgment, is a satisfaction for my sin, and that all my sufferings are blessed and sanctified through His." In the Small Catechism, however, Luther connects all the individual statements, subordinates them to the main thought, conceives them as the organic members of a single idea, and, in truly classical fashion, sets forth the meaning of this single idea for the Christian life. In the First Article he selects the idea of creation, places it in the center, and makes it the controlling factor. It is true, he also confessed God as "Father Almighty" ("and all this purely out of fatherly, divine goodness and mercy;" as a matter of fact, the idea of God's fatherhood is also present in the foregoing statements), but he gives it no independent significance. How exactly this mode of treatment harmonizes with the New Testament conception of faith, may clearly be seen in the Second Article. Viewed separately, the events of Christ's life here mentioned, are without saving significance, but as joint factors of the life of Jesus they become supremely important. Of what benefit would be the conception of Jesus by the Holy Spirit and His birth of the Virgin Mary if they had not been followed by His passion, death, and resurrection? None of these facts isolated from the rest, has brought about our salvation; all of them together have done so. Hence Luther assigns the central position to the word "I believe in our Lord," subordinates to this central thought all the rich material of the Article, and uses it to explain who our Lord is, and by what means he became and will ever more be our

Lord. Luther's method of explaining the Third Article is similar. All previous catechists, only a few church fathers excepted, divided this article into five coordinate sections, Luther, however, discovered and demonstrated the underlying unity; without straining a single section he obtained the outlines of the genuinely evangelical way of salvation, i. e., the fundamentals of sanctification or of the way in which souls, in time and eternity, are brought to Christ, their Lord and Redeemer. For it is through the church, through forgiveness of sins, through resurrection, and through reception into life eternal that the one work of the Holy Spirit is wrought, by Him who in the past has led us to Christ, in the present daily brings us to him again, and in the future will bring us to him forever. Thus the explanation becomes a classical expression of the basic truth that salvation from beginning to end depends not on human agencies but on Christ and his Spirit.

The second feature which reveals Luther's evangelical treatment of the Creed, is the vital relation which he establishes between the facts confessed and the individual believer. He is not satisfied with a mere "fides historica" concerning the facts of salvation as they happened in the past. In confessing the First Article, the Christian, according to Luther, does not merely signify his assent to the fact that God once upon a time created the world, but he confesses that he himself owes life and every blessing to no one but God, his creator and protector, that his whole life depends upon God, and that he is in duty bound to praise and to obey him. He who confesses the Second Article according to Luther, does not simply declare that Christ performed a number of saving acts and so became the Lord of Christendom, but he connects all this with his own life and confesses that Christ has redeemed **him,** a lost and condemned creature, purchased, and won him and thereby has become **his** Lord, and that **he** would

serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness. The same personal note, characteristic of all true faith, rings through the Third Article. The evangelical Christian correlates the redemptive facts of the past with the present and with his own life, he relies exclusively upon grace divine, and he dedicates himself to God as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto Him.

Luther's exposition of the **Lord's Prayer** is less original. Owing to his dependence upon early Christian models (esp. Tertullian and Cyprian) he does not always penetrate to the deepest meaning of the words (e. g., in the Second Petition). Also here, however, everything is genuinely evangelical. This may be seen from the arrangement as a whole which takes up the First and Second Chief Parts and prays for that which has there been disclosed as the will of God, and again from the explanation of the Fifth Petition with its emphasis upon divine grace. It is especially evident in the beautiful interpretation of the name "Father" and of our sonship found in the Introduction. The explanation of the Introduction was not added until 1531, but it is the most beautiful part of the exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

The very addition of the exposition of the Fourth and Fifth Chief Parts is in itself a protest against the Roman *opus operatum* and every kind of mechanical training of the masses for outward observance. Luther particularly shows his evangelical understanding in the **Fourth Chief Part** by placing the proper emphasis upon the subjective element, faith, which conditions the saving appropriation of the baptismal blessing ("to all who believe what the words and promises of God declare," "and faith which trusts this word of God in the water;") and he does this without in the least infringing upon the objective efficacy of Baptism as a saving act of God. Moreover, he sets forth the initial Sacrament as a factor influencing the whole Christian life and as

the source of ethical motives, so that the Christian life virtually assumes the aspect of a daily *regressus ad baptismum* ("It signifies that the old Adam in us, together with all sins and evil lusts should be drowned by daily sorrow and repentance, and be put to death.")

The institution of **Confession** which was completely obscured by medieval additions of every description, was also restored to its scriptural purity and simplicity. To Luther, its center is the absolution following upon sincere confession of sins before the Lord. Abolishing compulsory enumeration of all sins, he gives the advice to confess to the pastor such sins as press heavily upon the heart because by such private treatment the individual will be more effectively counseled and assured of forgiveness. The Decalogue evangelically interpreted is to be used as the mirror in which the soul may see its sin. Resolutely he stripped confession of its sacramental character; from the position of chief sacrament he reduced it to an intermediate position between baptism and communion. It is related to the one as well as to the other, and has a deep pedagogical significance; but as a special institution, in contrast to the preaching of the Word, and to the administration of the Sacraments, it is only an ordinance of the Church.

In the **Fifth Chief Part** the evangelical understanding of Luther is seen in the correct definition of the nature of the Sacrament of the Altar as grounded in the words of institution; in the stress laid upon repentant faith as the prerequisite of a blessed reception; further, in the reiteration of the phrase "for you"; most conspicuously, however, in the statement, "Where there is forgiveness of sins, there is also life and salvation." This sentence is the most forcible evidence of evangelical understanding; it places the evangelical conception of justification by faith in glaring contrast to Rome's view of justification. Forgiveness of sins is not the initial

stage on the way to God's favor from which one must work his own way to justification and God's favor and full salvation; but he who has received forgiveness of sins has everything else and is a saint in the sight of God.

Truly evangelical ideas, finally, prompted Luther to append the **remaining parts of the Catechism** which today are neglected altogether too much. The sanctification of daily labor and daily food through God's word and prayer is necessary to a genuine Christian life, and the more completely the life of prayer is regulated by system, the better and healthier it is. Regularity in matters of Christianity is of the greatest value; even though it is true that the inner life may degenerate into a routine of mere lifeless habit if not properly guarded. The prayers received by Luther into the Catechism or composed by him for the purpose are free from unbiblical medieval additions and genuinely evangelical; when he advocates kneeling, folding of hands, and the sign of the cross, he exhibits a noteworthy appreciation of symbolism in family or private devotions. A thought diametrically opposed to medievalism is expressed in the incorporation of the Table of Duties, namely the biblical and decidedly evangelical idea that a man must express and prove his Christianity in his divinely ordered calling and profession, not in monastic world-flight. There are no two ethical standards, a higher and a lower one, the former consisting in the renunciation of earthly blessings, the latter in their use; there is but one standard, and that is the same for all. Likewise there is but one sphere in which this ethical standard is to be applied, namely the several forms of the earthly calling or vocation which are divinely ordered and therefore well-pleasing to God. For this reason Luther supplied the Table of Duties with the superscription: "Table of Duties, certain scripture passages for various *holy* orders and estates."

While the great significance of the Small Catechism is largely found in the second meritorious feature just considered —the evangelical interpretation of the individual parts, this book would never have gained or maintained such significance but for the additional merit of possessing **great pedagogic excellences.** It would never have attained such wide-spread use as a school book merely because it was written by Luther or acknowledged as one of Symbolical Books of the Church or regarded as a truly evangelical treatise, if it had not possessed a number of pedagogic advantages.

Of the pedagogic merits we mention first its **perfected linguistic form,** the all but architectural beauty of its several parts. From this point of view the explanation of the Second Article appears as a still unequaled model, characterized by rhythmic euphony and a noble plastic form. Read aloud, by way of illustration, and note the word painting so truly in harmony with the deep meaning especially in the passage "who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased, and won me from all sins, from death and from the power of the devil." Observe the vivid miniature word painting (*Kleinmalerei*), when he unfolds the term "daily bread" in the explanation of the Fourth Petition. Here and there indeed a lengthy period is found, which is memorized with difficulty, and soon after its publication some pedagogues attempted to alleviate this task by resolving such periods into shorter sentences (cf. Reu, *Quellen,* I, 1, p. 516; p. 198, 483; I, 2, pp. 165 ff.), but these attempts are anything but improvements. Luther's periods are lucid and architectonic, and when they have once been committed to memory, they constitute a treasure for the mind which will prove far less elusive than a series of disconnected sentences. The glow of personal testimony which breathes from these lines, the opportune introduction of concrete examples, and the hymn-

like rhythm of phrase minimize these difficulties and cause them to be all but forgotten.

Other pedagogic excellences are even greater. We name, secondly, the **absence of all polemics.** However fiercely Luther fulminated against false teachings, not even refraining from an occasional vehement onslaught in his sermons, he just as assiduously avoided every trace of polemics in the Small Catechism where in spirit he stood in the nursery or in the school room. He does not inveigh in the First Chief Part against the false good works involved by men; but merely aims to show by suitable examples how genuine good works must grow forth from the fear and love of God. He does not battle in the Second Article against popes and bishops who have usurped authority over Christendom, but is intent on one thing alone, namely on impressing firmly the positive and fundamental truth that Jesus alone is our Lord and Master, and that we simply cannot own anyone else as master if we remember under what circumstances he became our Lord. In the Third Article he does not contend against Romanist or enthusiast perversions of the way of salvation; but he emphatically impresses the fact upon the heart that the Holy Spirit alone leads us to Christ and that He uses no other means than the gospel. No doubt, Luther was most strongly tempted to engage in polemics when discussing Baptism and Communion. At the time of writing the Small Catechism, the Anabaptists and enthusiasts had been checked in Saxony, but the havoc made by them was still plainly visible everywhere, and outside of Saxony they were at work unhindered and not without success. Nevertheless, Luther did not discuss their pernicious doctrines; only the third question on Baptism and its answer contain, as it were, faint echoes of the strife, but even here the thought is given a purely positive turn. The sacramentarian conflict was raging when Luther wrote the Fifth Chief Part, but

he refrains from controversy and merely presents with special care the biblical doctrine of the Lord's Supper; he knows that the more positively boys and girls are grounded in biblical truth, the more constant they will be when the time comes to maintain and to defend their biblical faith. Luther banishes all cold scholasticism and polemics from the school room, he would rather let youth feel the breath of true piety and the heart-throb of personal faith and life; for he knows this is the way to the heart of the young and that so it leaves a permanent impression on their souls. Something of the life from God and in God shall permeate instruction.

A third pedagogic excellence of the Small Catechism is the fact that, in distinction from most of his predecessors and successors, Luther **refrains from combining the five chief parts into a systematic organism** through questions connecting the parts with one another. In the Short Form of 1520 Luther too had established such a connection at least so far as the Trilogy is concerned, in the following passage: "Three things a man must needs know in order to be saved. First he must know what to do and what not to do. Secondly, when he recognizes that by his own power he can not do what he should do nor leave undone what he should not do, he must learn where to receive, seek, and find such power and strength. Thirdly, he must know how to seek and obtain it. Just as a sick man must know first of all the nature of his sickness and what he may do and what he may not do. Next he must find where the remedy is which may cure him so that he can do what any healthy person does. Thirdly, he must desire such remedy and seek it or have it brought to him. Accordingly the Commandments teach man to know his *sickness* so that he may see what he can do and what he cannot do, and to acknowledge himself as a sinner and a wicked man. After that faith shows and teaches him where to find the remedy that helps him to become godly and to keep

the Commandments; it shows him God and His mercy, revealed and offered in Christ. Thirdly, the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to seek, and obtain such mercy, namely through proper humble confident prayer by which it shall be granted him, and he shall be saved through the fulfillment of God's Commandments." (cf. above page 8). Similar statements are found in the Large Catechism (See Jacobs, *Book of Concord,* p. 439 and 448: Tr. p. 679 and 697). But in the Small Catechism written *pro pueris et familia,* he does not only refrain from any such allusion, but excludes every attempt at reducing its material to a system by treating the Decalogue both as the norm of the new life (First Chief Part) and as a mirror of sin (Confession). For, classification into a system becomes possible only when the Ten Commandments are considered either as the norm of the new life or as a mirror of sin; it is impossible when they are treated as both at one and the same time. To Luther, each Chief Part represents the whole of Christianity, but each time from a different point of view. With sound pedagogical insight Luther recognized that young people and ordinary folks need clear and positive statements, but no system.

Of still more importance is the fourth pedagogical merit of the Small Catechism: its **wise restriction to the essentials of Christian faith and life** and the elimination as far as possible of all the technical terms of dogmatics. More than all the catechists that had preceded him and more than almost all the catechists that followed, Luther remained conscious of writing not for prospective theologians, but for the youth and the common people. He restricted himself to the essentials needed by the Christian as a child of God, and to the actual requirements needed for a Christian life and a blessed death. He might have enlarged upon the divine essence and attributes, upon the wonderful union of the divine and human natures in Christ down to an elaborate statement concerning

the *communicatio idiomatum,* he might have brought in all the fine shadings of the several stages of the way of salvation, or all the manifestations of Christian morals in the diverse forms of social life. On other occasions he indeed blazed the path of these matters, but in his Catechism he was silent about all this in order to bring out what is central, to make it clear in all its aspects, and to impress it upon the young and ordinary people. He knows that otherwise they "could not see the wood for the trees." It was this exquisite pedagogic tact no less than his deep evangelical understanding that prompted Luther to reduce Christian morals to one root, the fear and love of God, and to group all the single acts of salvation around the three outstanding deeds of creation, redemption, and sanctification. Luther, always active and vigorous, knew how to restrict himself to essentials; it was Melanchthon, the theorist, who introduced dogmatics into catechetical instruction.

It was likewise pedagogical wisdom and tact and by no means accidental when Luther refrained from stressing the negative side in the exposition of the First and Sixth Commandments. In the First Commandment, more than in any other, the negative feature as far as it has a place at all in the instruction of children, is contained in the positive one, especially in the phrase "above all things"; when teaching children, "gross idolatry" must not be discussed, and by stressing the negative element one is likely to displace the positive element from its central position and to obscure it. And the omission of the negative side of the Sixth Commandment is to be commended because thus the children are not made acquainted with sins with which they are still unfamiliar.

As far as **method** is concerned, the merits of Luther's Small Catechism are much smaller. Because Luther employed questions and answers in his Catechism, it has been claimed

that Luther is the author of the interrogative form of instruction; some even would make him the father of the method of didactic conversation. Such assertions, however, are wholly unfounded. The interrogative form of instruction had been used long before Luther as far back as the time of Alcuin; and the questions employed in the Small Catechism are in reality examination questions or confessional questions, not developing questions in the sense of modern pedagogics. The didactic conversation as an exact educational method can be traced to the Reformation only in its faintest beginnings. The recitation and repetition of sentences was at that time deemed quite sufficient. The father or the teacher would recite a sentence, and the child would repeat it until the subject matter was appropriated.

From the standpoint of method it is noteworthy that Luther added pictures, chiefly biblical, to his Catechism, thus practically applying the principle of vividness which he advocated in his preface when he advises teachers to adduce as many illustrations from the Scriptures as possible.

Another point is worthy of imitation: he insists upon a gradual introduction into the catechetical material. He advises the pastor first to take up only the text proper of the Catechism for the purpose of impressing it upon the memory. In order to avoid confusion, the teacher should refrain from introducing changes into the text of the Catechism but always keep the same form. When the children have become familiar with the words of the text, the pastor must proceed to the explanation so that the children may understand the meaning of the Catechism. For this purpose he should use "these tables," i. e., Luther's explanation, or "some other brief explanation"; and again Luther adds the admonition to abide by the form once selected without altering even a single syllable. When this explanation has been mastered, the "large catechism" shall follow, i. e., an ampler explana-

tion, as found in "a great number of books" among which, of course, also Luther's Large Catechism though left unmentioned is to be reckoned. By means of this large Catechism the pastor shall furnish the children and the plain man "with fuller and more comprehensive explanation," and Luther advises him in a special manner to insist on such commandments or other parts as are neglected or misunderstood by his people. But if the pastor because of the lack of response on the part of the people and because of their ingratitude is in danger of losing his courage and joy, Luther reminds him that "Christ himself will be our reward if we labor with fidelity"; those, however, who refuse to receive instruction are to be told plainly that "they deny Christ and are not Christians; such persons shall not be admitted to the Lord's Table, nor act as sponsors in Baptism, nor enjoy any of our Christian privileges, and are to be committed to the Pope and his agents, and, indeed, to Satan himself."

## 8. How Luther's Catechism Was Used in the Sixteenth Century

HOW, then, was Luther's Catechism used in the age of the Reformation? The way it was used in home and church may best be learned from those parts of the *Kirchenordnung fuer Kursachsen* of the year 1580 which deal with it. This *Kirchenordnung* may especially be referred to here as it represents the conclusion of the previous regulations in the homeland of the Reformation and also furnished the basis for the succeeding centuries. Taken as a whole, it may well be considered as typical.

"Of the Catechism: As there is no more necessary preaching than that of the holy Catechism, in which is contained the sum and substance of the entire Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments, by which all other sermons to the simple people may likewise be regulated for their better instruction and for the strengthening of their faith, therefore the pastors and servants of the Church shall take this to heart and be admonished with special diligence as to the preaching of the Catechism, so that the common man, and especially the young and foolish people may learn to understand the same so much better and may always grasp what is preached. First: They shall not permit any other catechism to be taught to the people in the churches or in the schools than the one put into print by that eminent man, the sainted Doctor Martin Luther, and embodied in his books. Second: In order that the same may become known to everybody, the village pastors shall read the whole Catechism each Sunday before the Gospel, without explanation, with a loud voice, distinctly and intelligibly, together with the morning and evening prayer and the grace before and after meals, and shall also admonish the young and simple people to listen diligently, that afterwards the parents may profitably use the same with their children and servants at home. Third: The pastors and clergymen shall always treat the Catechism in the same form and manner, and in teaching it shall not wander far afield to prove their

art and skill, but shall explain it to the young people in the plainest manner, and shall again and again question them and examine them, using no side questions not contained therein; for young inexperienced people are confused and can retain little if one treats the Catechism copiously and with varying form and manner of speaking. This service the pastors in towns and villages shall require the young people, the children, servants, and maids, to attend and shall earnestly admonish the parents, masters, and mistresses, to send them diligently to such preaching and explanation of the Catechism and under pain of severe punishment not to neglect it, and when a part of the Catechism has been presented and explained to them, the parents, masters, and mistresses shall question them at home, to ascertain how much of it they have learned and retained. Thus from childhood they will be encouraged and trained diligently to pay attention to their instruction. Fourth: When the young people cannot readily come to the church during the week on account of farm work or other labor, the Catechism shall be taught in the afternoon on all the Sundays and feast-days to the young people in the manner above described,—the Epistle however is to be read and explained with a short summary on some other day in the week, on which day, or on some other, the pastor shall hold an examination in the Catechism. The pastors, however, shall be gentle and not speak rudely to the poor, simple, industrious people, nor frighten them away from such examination, but address them kindly and at the first be content with a passable answer, and they shall encourage them by telling of the fruit that will result from such instruction. The pastors shall also admonish the fathers and mothers from the pulpit that they hold their children and servants in a kindly way to such examination, and also encourage the young people by appearing willingly at the examination themselves. When, however, in the villages or in the affiliated congregations there are so many people that it is impossible for the pastor to attend to all the work himself, we order that the sexton or church-warden shall do so—this, however, shall not take place until they have been thoroughly examined and approved by the consistory—; they then shall be charged with the instruction in the Catechism, and in questioning and hearing the recitations of the young they shall be restrained and gentle as before directed. And that the servants may learn how to pray, several times each week, especially after meals or before retiring the parents shall rehearse the several parts of the Catechism, or let those who have learned it in the school recite it to the others. If, however, they themselves are untaught and have no one in the home

who could read, they shall pay a poor boy of the school, that he may recite the Catechism or read and teach spiritual hymns to their servants at stated times. But above all the house-fathers shall diligently be admonished to keep their children, lads and maidens, (where schools for girls are maintained) at school, where they can memorize the Catechism for themselves and can learn to teach others. Fifth: The pastors shall particularly subject those who go to the blessed Sacrament for the first time to a thorough examination in the Catechism to determine if they have learned it, as well as to inquire whether they are otherwise fit to be admitted to the Communion."

Under the head: *"Von dem jaerlichen examine des catechismi, so in der fasten mit dem jungen gesinde gehalten werden sol"* (Of the annual examination of the Catechism which shall be held in the Lenten season with the young servants) we read in the same document: "First, in the cities the superintendents (if there be any), or the pastors shall demand of the council a list of the citizens and inhabitants of the city arranged according to the districts in which they reside, which the council everywhere shall furnish. Second: On the Sunday *Estomihi* the pastor shall announce to the congregation that the remaining Sundays in Lent the examination of the children and servants shall be held after the midday-sermon. Wherefore the parents shall send their children and servants that they may learn to give an account of their faith. Third: That this may be done properly and without confusion, they shall not all be heard on one Sunday, but the citizens of each district shall be heard on different Sundays. . . . Where, however, the city is so large and the districts so thickly populated that the children and servants belonging to one district cannot all be heard on one Sunday, then the clergymen shall arrange to divide the people so that the examination may be held everywhere in the Lenten season. Fourth: As some have been frightened away from this examination because at some places when the young people, especially servants and maids, cannot answer all the questions quickly, the clergy are in the habit of using harsh words, thus embarrassing them before the people, and as pastors and clergymen occasionally ask difficult questions—ofttimes unfamiliar not only to the young but even to the old—so that it is impossible for them to answer, the visitors shall seriously admonish the pastors in cities and villages to speak to the young people in a friendly, fatherly manner, with all mildness and restraint. . . . Thereafter they shall praise the children and servants who are able to answer from their Catechism, and shall admonish the others, where they have failed that they should learn it from those who knew it

before the next examination. Fifth: The pastors and clergymen, however, shall ask the young people no other questions than those contained in D. Luther's Catechism, always using the same words. . . . And finally, if there be children who have learned the Catechism at school, and are sure of it, there is no need of a long examination and questioning, but when these have been questioned about several parts of the Catechism, now about one, then about another part, the clergyman can easily see whether the child remembers the Catechism or not. But those who have learned it only partly, he shall ask how far they have progressed, and then ask of the children of the same grade one question after the other, in which way he can easily learn how far they have progressed. He should praise them for what they have learned, and also in a friendly and fatherly manner admonish them to continue their studies and not cease till they have learned the whole Catechism. But if there are people who never have been at school and therefore have not learned the explanation of the Catechism, they shall nevertheless be questioned as to whether they know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the words of the institution of Holy Baptism, of the Lord's Supper, and the Holy Absolution as these are publicly read in the churches to the people on all the Sundays and feast-days. Afterwards they shall admonish them with gentle words in a fatherly way that they learn the questions and explanation of the Catechism from the children who have been at school. A whole year should be allowed for this purpose and if they will apply themselves with diligence, they can easily learn these portions from the others. Sixth: That the parents, masters, and mistresses may not only see how their children and servants are questioned, but also hear what they answer, especially as some are not able to answer satisfactorily and there is so much more reason for urging their children to diligently study the Catechism at home . . . the parents, if not both, at least one . . . , as well as the master or the mistress shall themselves bring their children and servants to this examination. . . . And as the parents in the cities have probably learned the Catechism in their youth, though they no longer retain the exact words in their memory on account of their age, and also are timid about speaking publicly so that if they miss only in one word, they are in danger of being mortified before the servants and ridiculed by the young people who would be tempted to apply less diligence to the learning of the Catechism, because they see that their parents no longer know how to recite it word for word—they shall be exempted from this examination. In the villages, however, it is to be held with young and old

alike, though with a similar consideration of conditions, especially as far as the older people are concerned, whose religious knowledge can be ascertained in the Confession. Since not only young children, but frequently the grown sons and daughters, servants and maids are also afraid to speak publicly and for that reason cannot recite what they have learned and know well, the Visitors shall make it a rule in all churches, especially the small ones that the pastor shall direct the servants to remain in their usual pew, or, when the churches are large, outside of the choir so far from the clergyman that they cannot hear what the pastor speaks with the others or what they answer. Afterwards through the custodian, district master, or anyone who most opportunely can be charged therewith, he shall summon through a note one group of servants after the other to come to him into the choir; then he shall examine them as above indicated. Where, however, the congregation is large and the clergymen numerous, they shall station themselves in the choir in different places, that nobody may overhear another, confuse him or the servants, or disturb him in the examination. So the people will not be detained too long and all will be done with good will and to the profit of the Church. The clergymen will subsequently be spared much labor in the Confessional if they thus learn to know their parishioners' and hearers' understanding of their faith by this public examination. . . . And the pastors and clergymen shall diligently instruct the people that this is the right Christian confirmation or *firmung,* that is the affirmation of the faith which the sponsors have confessed in the place of the new-baptized infant, and in which the child was baptized, and remind them that they are to live according to this faith all their lives."

In the part: *Vom ampt der cuester* (Of the office of the sacristan or verger) it says further: "Afterwards each sacristan shall be obliged on Sunday afternoons and also in the week, upon a certain day, to teach the children the Catechism and Christian German hymns of Dr. Luther and afterwards to examine them about the sections of the Catechism that were taught them. And where one or more congregations belong to the parish he shall alternate in such instruction under the direction of his pastor that the youth in all the villages may be instructed in the Catechism."

A glance at these and similar instructions, which are found in great number, enables us to say that even at this time, quite in agreement with the original headings of the various Chief Parts of the Catechism, it was the head of

the family who was first taken into consideration: It was he who should "display" (*vorhalten*) i. e., recite, the text of the Catechism as well as the explanation to the children and servants, while they repeated them again and again until they knew them thoroughly. This practice **at home** was regarded as a part of the morning and evening devotion which usually followed the meal. This is best shown by the previously mentioned catechism of Rosinus, which is really intended as a catechism for the home. Its preface addresses "all Christian fathers and servants of the household" and says: "If God-loving parents desire, according to St. Paul's command Ephes. 6, to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, that they may live Christian lives here and finally be united in everlasting joy and blessedness, then they can do it in no better way than by daily rehearsing with them the Catechism just mentioned (Luther's), which is indeed a precious jewel, a compact summary of the Holy Scriptures and the little Bible of the laity. After they have grasped it, they may also place before them the following questions and let them repeat them in the morning with each Part; in the evening, however, pray the designated Psalms from David's catechism and then let them sing the appointed catechism hymns. Finally God-fearing parents may also begin to recite the small *Corpus Doctrinae* (by M. Judex, cf. Reu I 3, pp. 444*ff.) and other Psalms in their family devotions and daily read a chapter from the large Bible." Afterwards in the catechism itself instructions like these follow: "This first part of the holy Catechism with its questions and answers the children may rehearse at home after grace has been said at the early meal. After the grace of the evening meal and the Gratias the children may pray the 90th Psalm out of David's catechism. . . . And after this they may sing from the hymnbook of Luther 'The Ten Commandments', the fine little hymn: *Mensch, wiltu leben seliglich,* or the longer one: *Diss sind die*

*heiligen Zehen Gebot.*" In connection with the Second Part: "This Second Part of the holy Catechism with its questions and answers the children may rehearse at home on the second day after the early meal and the Gratias. If, however, this is too burdensome for the children, they can distribute the questions on the three Articles over three days. And after the evening meal and the Gratias they may pray from David's catechism in connection with the First Article, Of Creation, the 104th Psalm: 'Bless the Lord, O my soul. Hallelujah'. And after this they may sing from Luther's hymn-book: *Wir glauben all an einen Gott.* In connection with the Second Article, Of Redemption, the children shall pray the 103rd Psalm: 'Bless the Lord, O my soul', and then sing from Luther's hymn-book: *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei* or *Jesus Christus wohn uns bey; Der heilig Geist wohn uns bey,* or at the proper season *Gelobet seistu, Jesu Christ, das du, etc.* In connection with the Third Article, Of Sanctification, the little ones shall pray the 19th Psalm: 'The heavens declare the glory of God, etc.', and then sing from Luther's hymn-book: *'Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist, etc.'*" This family Catechism, of course, was not widely used in all its details, but the simple *Vorhalten* (recitation) of the Chief Parts of Luther's Catechism by the house-father or other members of the family frequently became a matter of custom.

As Luther's preface had addressed itself to the pastors and preachers and had made instruction in the Catechism obligatory, we also find the **Church** functioning in addition to the home as the second agency of instruction through the whole of the 16th century. The church not only repeatedly reminded the home of its duty and directed its activities, but also in various ways took a hand in the actual work of instruction. The Church provided for the public reading of the text, and sometimes also of Luther's explanation by the sacristan or pastor before or after the sermon Sunday after Sunday; the

Church introduced *Kinderlehre* on Sunday afternoon or on a weekday, or even oftener than once during the week; the Church held examinations in the Catechism during Lent, between Easter and Pentecost, or at other times, especially for those who received the Sacrament for the first time, but by no means for these only. To make sure that the Parts of the Catechism had been appropriated, the Church frequently examined the people in confession; and often, in addition to the *Kinderlehre* of Sundays and weekdays, sermons were preached on the Catechism. These series of sermons were preached on eight to fourteen successive days each quarter.

The *Kinderlehre* in some places consisted of a short liturgical introduction followed by a recitation to the children and the servants of the Chief Parts of the Catechism which they then repeated; there was no further explanation. At other places the liturgical frame-work was somewhat richer, a few connecting questions were added and several proof-passages of Holy Scripture joined with it (e. g. I 2, p. 72* and 210 ff.). In cities the instruction sometimes became more elaborate as the pastor explained and further expounded the single words of Luther's explanation. Thus Tetelbach says in the preface to his explanation: "I have used this fundamental little book (Luther's Catechism) for the thirteen years I was your pastor and superintendent (at Chemnitz where he was stationed 1554-1567), with the dear youth, together with diligent visitation and examination of the old. Every Sunday I considered and expounded the meaning of the words and arranged such questions and answers as were necessary for their correct understanding." He also furnishes the reason for this: "For I observed that the pupils and other pious Christian children only memorize this most precious little book (which in itself is praiseworthy enough and should not be neglected), but without considering its meaning, and recite it without understanding; wherefore they are unable to give intelligent answers to

the simplest questions asked about it, and so perceive little of the rich treasure it contains." From this method of using the Catechism originated his excellent explanation which he had printed in 1568 (I 1, pp. 667 ff. and I 2, p. 122*f.), which, like most of the German explanations which have come down to us from this time, grew out of such practical work in the *Kinderlehre* or the school. What Tetelbach reports agrees with what we are told about the procedure of the *Kinderlehre* at Chemnitz in 1578 (I 2, p. 136*): "The pastor himself instructs in Luther's Catechism or *Kinderlehr* on all Sundays in the afternoon, except when the weather is very cold and inclement; first he simply recites the Parts of the Catechism one after the other; then two boys from the school recite one part with the explanation; after this the pastor questions the children and the words of Luther are explained in the plainest manner; fifteen minutes are devoted to a Commandment or an Article of the Creed or a Petition of the Lord's Prayer which are then summed up in very short questions. These the children memorize in the school together with Luther's explanation and they recite them the following Sunday when they are questioned. The *Kinderlehre* is always well attended." Where the Nuernberg Sermons for Children were employed, which were written and published for the *Kinderlehre,* the text of the respective Chief Parts was usually first recited without explanation; then the sermon was read and the session closed with the recitation of Luther's explanation of that particular part. Georg Karg at Ansbach, in 1556 already felt the necessity of further discussing in short questions and answers the points of doctrine connected with each Chief Part, in addition to having the sermon read to the children. From this originated his catechism which after 1564 was used in the Margraviate of Ansbach for nearly two centuries. In the preface to the edition of 1564 (Reu I 1, pp. 578 ff.) he describes the procedure of the *Kinderlehre* in Ans-

bach thus: "First the sermon is read (from the Nuernberg Sermons for Children), then the Six Parts are recited (i. e., the mere texts of the Chief Parts; the sixth is to him the Office of the Keys); third, in addition to the text and a part of the Short Explanation (i. e. Luther's explanation) the summary of the sermon just read is reviewed (for this purpose he made the third part of his catechism, questions and answers on single points of doctrine). Before and after a Psalm or spiritual hymn is sung each time and the service is closed with one or more collects from the common prayer followed by the final hymn and the blessing." In some cities and villages two children were made to stand in front of the altar or the baptismal font to recite parts of the Catechism; now and then they alternately asked the questions or gave the answers (Reu I 2, p. 130*; 372*; I 3, p. 186, 187). We also find that the children who on these occasions or in general recited the Catechism well, received rewards. Thus in the account of the *Gemeine Kasten* at Chemnitz of 1555 we find this item: "8 *Groschen* given for a pound of sugar which the pastor (Tetelbach) had given to the children who knew by heart the Five Parts of the Christian doctrine." This item is repeated twice in the same year, while twice in the year 1560 we find this one: "10 *Groschen* paid for a pound of sweetmeat to the apothecary, given at the examination in the church to those children who knew the Catechism" (I 2, p. 123*). In Nuernberg since 1558 the child who asked the questions received a *Dreier;* those who recited the mere text of the Catechism, a *Pfennig,* and those who recited the explanation by Luther, two *Pfennig* (Hirsch, *Nuernbergische Katechismushistorie,* 1752, p. 34). The *Kinderlehre* was frequently held by the sacristan, especially there where it consisted merely of the reading and recitation of Luther's Catechism; this was the case in the *Kursaechsische Ordnung* of 1580, though here is added that "sometimes the pastor himself

shall hold it after the midday sermon," "that the *custos* (sacristan, verger, *Kuester*) be kept *in officio* and industrious" (Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen* I 1, 452). But at many places the pastor held it regularly, whether he was, as was often the case, especially obliged to do so or not. If a further explanation of Luther's text was involved, it was always left to him. The parents and masters who did not send their children and servants to the sermon and examination had in the electorate of Saxony to deposit six *groschen* in the *gotteskasten* as a fine (Sehling I 1, 440).

The examination in the Catechism in some places was held more thoroughly than was demanded by the *Kursaechsische Ordnung* of 1580. Often the children had to appear not only on Sundays but every day from *Estomihi* to *Palmarum*. Thus this order for Gottleuba in the superintendency of Pirna was issued in 1577: "All the days in Lent, beginning with the first Sunday, when under the papacy the idolatrous *salve regina* was sung, the Catechism is to be taught the children every day until the Sunday *Palmarum*. A Psalm like the 8. 16. 22. 69. 110. etc., is to be sung which commemorates the passion of Christ, together with that part of the Catechism which shall be treated; then a lesson is to be read from *Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs,* or whatever other lesson has been selected by the clergyman; then the Catechism is to be recited, and another Christian hymn sung, and the service is to be closed with the collects" (I 2, p. 134*). What was used in Ansbach one learns from Karg's preface to his catechism of 1564. There we read: "And above all it is needful that in addition to the usual study of the Catechism the children, who are about twelve years old, should be instructed for several successive days and weeks in doctrine as *Catechumeni,* before they receive the Lord's Supper, at some opportune and unoccupied time during the year. This shall take the place of the papal Confirmation and *Firmung* so that they may

receive the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ intelligently and worthily. These examinations, lasting one hour each day, are conducted here at Onoltzbach with the children of the town between Pentecost and Easter on weekdays at twelve o'clock, and with those of the villages in the parish on all Sundays and feast-days from *Reminiscere* until *Exaudi* at one o'clock. Then on Pentecost, after they have individually made confession and received absolution on the previous day, all receive the Holy Supper." Compare also the ordinance issued by Baumgarten in Magdeburg (I 2, pp. 438 ff.), the confirmation questions by Sarcerius (I 2, 100 ff.), and the ordinance for Pomerania (I 3, pp. 258*f.).

That the double-institution of the catechetical sermon, which we found first at Wittenberg, and according to which a series of sermons on the whole of the Catechism was added to the Sunday or week-day catechetical sermon four times during the year, was also retained in subsequent times we learn, e. g., from the *Wittenberger Kirchenordnung* of 1533. Here we read: "Furthermore the Catechism shall be preached four times during the year, once by the pastor and the other three times by the three assistants. In addition to this the pastor shall admonish the people on the preceding Sunday that they are in duty bound to send their children and servants to this service; first, in the first two weeks of Advent, then in the first two weeks of Lent, third at *Rogate* and during the following weeks, fourth in the two weeks immediately after harvest, before the hops are picked, as on the Sunday before Bartholomew and the two following weeks. During each season the pastor is to preach on eight days, namely, on the Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays in both weeks after midday at an opportune hour during the vespers" (Sehling I 1, 701). See also the Church Order for Pomerania of 1563 (I 3, p. 258), for Torgau of 1575 (Sehling I 1,

683). In the year 1578 a report concerning Pirna states that a series of sermons is held three times each year. "The holy Catechism has been preached for a time only on ordinary Sundays in the afternoon, but at my instigation it is preached three times in the year, at the time of *Invocavit, Trinitatis,* and the week before St. Michael's Day thus: on Sunday afternoon the Ten Commandments, on Monday the Apostles' Creed, on Wednesday the Lord's Prayer, on Friday the holy, venerable Sacrament together with Luther's explanation of the Small Catechism and other short explanations" (I 2, p. 136*). In Halle a.S. the series was given only twice a year (I 2, 315*).

When in spite of all these efforts of the Church it sometimes happened that people had no knowledge at all of the Catechism, they were refused the Sacrament until they had acquired this knowledge. In some places the bridal couples that came to be married and could not recite the Parts of the Catechism were dealt with in the same way (e. g., I 3, p. 186*). When in 1555 in Gomlo, in the diocese Kemberg, people were found who could recite neither the Lord's Prayer nor the Creed, not only was the pastor especially instructed to teach these to them, but it was also added: "If they do not want to learn, he shall report it to the authorities, that proper punishment may be meted out to such profligate people" (Sehling I 1, p. 106).

The Church also utilized the **school** in the work of catechetical instruction. In the villages the school was usually conducted by the sacristan. His work seldom progressed beyond that which was ordered, e. g., by the General Articles of 1557 for Saxony (I 2, pp. 107* ff), that later passed into the ordinance of 1580 and which we have quoted on p. 156. Larger villages ordinarily had a German school with a teacher, who usually was also the sacristan (I 2, p. 146*). School was held daily, though frequently only during the winter. The subjects of instruction were reading, writing, singing, and

religion. Concerning the catechetical instruction given here the Order for Saxony, of 1580, says: "It is emphatically our opinion that the Catechism of D. Luther should be deeply impressed on the minds of the children, that they memorize it, recite it and rightly understand and comprehend it. To this end the school-masters shall make use of several definite days and hours during the week to conduct exercises in the Catechism with them, teaching it in a simple manner and with plain explanations. The school children who have attained the same degree of knowledge of the teaching of the Catechism, shall be paired off and say aloud alternately the questions and answers of the Catechism so that when the Catechism is publicly said before the congregation in the church they are accustomed to such public recitation." They must attend the *Kinderlehre* in the church and some of them must always be ready to recite it. The teacher is ordered "before they are dismissed at midday, to return to their homes for meals, to hold prayers with them, have them recite the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. . . . The school-masters shall also be obliged, after the regular instruction in the Catechism—during summer-time in the church, during winter-time in the school—to rehearse the Catechism and practice the singing of hymns with those village children who do not attend the school and diligently to instruct them, as they may be directed by the pastors" (I 2, p. 145*). In these German schools, in addition to the regular *Kinderlehre* and the *Catechismusexamen*, the many German explanations of the text of Luther which have come down to us from the 16th century were taught. They served the teacher for the explanation of those parts of the Catechism which he was either required or permitted to explain more fully (e. g., I 3, p. 186*). In the cities there were sometimes schools for girls, though they established themselves slowly and maintained themselves with difficulty. Andreas Musculus, who zealously endeavored to

introduce them in Brandenburg, reports in his regulations for girls' schools of 1574 (I 3, pp. 222 ff.) that most of them taught practically the same subjects as in the German schools for boys, and that the instruction in the Catechism occupied the chief place in the curriculum. It is surprising to find that Musculus not only required the girls to learn many Bible passages in addition to Luther's Catechism, but that he also required considerable difficult material that was to be read to the adults and particularly to the old people in the church at afternoon services (I 3, 226 and I 3, 189*f), but this subject cannot be pursued here, as we are not writing a history of religious instruction, but only wish to show how the Catechism itself was employed.

In Aschersleben according to the ordinance of 1575, the girls from the girls' school had to be in the church at vespers on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when the following exercises in Catechism were held with them: "1. First the sacristan sings a German Psalm which relates to that part of the holy Catechism which is to be treated during that hour; likewise a German Psalm *de tempore* is also sung. 2. Then the deacon who has been assigned for that week goes before the altar of the church and recites the Five Chief Parts of the holy Catechism, *ordine* one after the other, without explanation. 3. After this a girl, who is ordered to do so by the school mistress, recites the *definitionem Dei* in German. 4. Then a second girl arises and questions another girl about a part of the Catechism and its explanation by D. Martin Luther. 5. After this a third girl rises and questions one of the others, who was also ordered by the school mistress, on a part of the Table of Duties (*Christliche Haustafel*). 6. After this the deacon appointed for the week begins to examine the children concerning that Part of the Catechism which was recited and instructs them in the same with fitting questions and answers. 7. After the examination has taken place, the hymn, "Lord keep us, etc." is sung. Then follow the collects *pro pace* and the benediction (I 2, 329*).

Almost everywhere in the cities there were **Latin schools** which, according to their size, had from one to six or more teachers. Our list for Pomerania, for example, in I 3, 293*-

298*, reveals an astonishing number of Latin schools. There, as in many other portions of the same book, one finds ample proof that in these schools the catechetical instruction,—together with all the other material of which the religious training made use, such as passages of the Holy Scripture, the Gospel and Epistle pericopes, collections of Biblical stories, reading and explanation of single books of the Holy Scripture in Luther's translation or in the Greek original,—stood in the foreground and occupied the central place. Instead of citing many examples, we will again quote from the Order for electoral Saxony of 1580.

There we read in the part of *Particularschulen:* "As such schools have been instituted above all for the honor of God and the instruction of the youth in the one, true, and saving knowledge of God, in all these schools, small and large, Saturday shall be devoted only to those lessons and exercises by which the pupils are instructed in spiritual and heavenly things, pertaining to the salvation of their souls. Therefore in the first class the three hours before midday shall be devoted to exercises by the young children in the German Catechism of D. Luther and no other catechism shall be used. This shall be done diligently so that they learn it thoroughly and have it so firmly fixed in their memory that they do not quickly forget it. Those who learn reading shall also be instructed to read the Gospels of the Sundays in Latin and German. In the second and third class, however, the Latin Catechism of D. Luther shall be read and studied from six to seven o'clock; in the fourth and fifth class it shall be studied in Greek. But from seven until eight o'clock the preceptors shall teach the second and third class the *Euangelium Dominicale latine;* the fourth and fifth class in Greek, and so drill the pupils that they may better understand and remember the sermon and its explanation on the following Sunday. From eight till nine o'clock the boys in the second class shall be obliged to learn the German Psalms, but in the third class several Latin Psalms which the preceptor shall first translate for them, using the shortest Psalms so that they may not be repelled, but may acquire a love and desire for such exercises. In the fourth and fifth class the *Sacrae Sententiae Jobi Magdeburgij, Historiae sacrae Georgij Fabricij, Pietas puerilis Fabricij and Siberi* shall be read."

But we must not overlook the fact that the pupils of the

Latin school had to attend all the services, taking an active part in them, and here too came in contact with the material of the Catechism in the most different forms. In some places parts of the Catechism were used in the opening service and at the devotional conclusion of the various school-days. To what extent lingual and religious interests were intermingled, is best learned from the treatment of the Catechism in Latin and Greek. Often the religious element may have been subordinated to the lingual, but a number of really able Latin explanations of the Small Catechism appeared at this time. We mention: J. Spangenberg 1544, L. Jacobi 1552, L. Lossius 1550, A. Siber 1575, M. Dresser 1581. How unpedagogical it was, however, to base the teaching of religion upon the continual repetition of the same material in the same form, needs no proof. Johann Clajus has betrayed this against his own will: he refers to the *fastidium Catechetici libelli*, which had crept into the pupils, as the reason for his Hebrew translation of Luther's Catechism and its incorporation into his polyglot (I 2, 233*). Of course the fact that the pupils were now able to *traktieren* the Catechism of Luther in Hebrew will hardly have removed this *fastidium* permanently! And yet it is surprising in what a large number of editions this and the next polyglot edition of the Catechism appeared (cf. p. 53). Other catechists like Trotzendorf, Camerarius, Wigand, Chytraeus, and others, showed greater wisdom when, in the upper classes, in place of the Catechism they preferred an independent treatment of the catechetical material. But when Camerarius thought he had to furnish this presentation in Greek (I 2, 96*ff.), he manifestly made a still greater mistake, for he himself thought it necessary to add a Latin translation, and in our copy of the Greek *Catechesis* (a book of more than 500 pages) the owner wrote the larger part of the translation between the lines.

The conversational method of instruction, which seeks to

find the single truths with the collaboration of the pupils, was still unknown in the period of the Reformation, in spite of the great number of catechisms expounded in questions and answers. It is true, we find the beginnings of a better method of teaching, as in the case of Camerarius who in his *Catechesis* mentioned above recited the material to the upper classes in connected discourse interweaving illustrative narratives sometimes of his own invention, and sometimes from ancient history, but rarely from Biblical history, and then turned to the pupils with recapitulating questions (I 2, 98*). The same was done in a way by Lossius who had suggested *obiectiones* to force the pupils to think. But taken as a whole no progress was made beyond the method of dictation on the part of the teacher and repetition by the pupil. The question, as often as it appears, is not a didactic question but an interrogation, examination, or confessional question. Excellent, therefore, as was the zeal with which the Catechism was taught, and the confidence displayed in the heart-transforming and regenerating power of the divine truth, and free as the catechetical material was kept from specifically dogmatic elements, though this was beginning to creep in,—nevertheless the manner in which the Catechism was presented to the children was anything but a model method. If in spite of this there was a real regeneration of the people and a generation grew up which later withstood the storms of the Thirty Years' War, we may look upon it as a proof that God is able to bless richly, even when well meaning men adopt a wrong method. At that time, however, when affiliation with the Church was still taken as a matter of course and the idea of authority still lived as a real power in men's minds the method of recitation and repetition was much less out of place than today.

# 9. Luther's Catechism in the Period of Orthodoxy and Pietism

IN THE period of Orthodoxy and also of Pietism Luther's Catechism was considered the unquestioned foundation for religious instruction. Occasionally men spoke in highest praise of the excellencies it possesses. The General-superintendent of Celle, Michael Walther, in his *Gloria Catechismi* of 1645, enumerated not less than ten such excellencies and enlarged upon them at some length, as follows: 1. integrity and perfection; 2. firmness and conviction; 3. sincerity and clearness; 4. conformity and likeness (of our Catechism to writings of the Apostles and fathers); 5. simplicity and plainness; 6. brevity and artistic conciseness (of the singular gift of rendering the greatest matters briefly and clearly); 7. elegance and convenience (of the method and fine order); 8. utility and usefulness (this is dealt with in twelve ways); 9. celebrity and fame (of the author, Luther, who as the third Elijah and chariot and horseman of the German Israel was endowed by God with such a light of spiritual wisdom and with such an ardent zeal and many other gifts of grace of the Holy Ghost, as there had been none like him since the times of the Apostles so there will not be another like him till the Last Day); 10. variety and diversity (of the superabundant praise which has been bestowed upon the Catechism by all devout and wise men).

At first the same institutions which had developed during the time of the Reformation for the teaching of the Catechism were continued; and when, in many places, they were neglected because of the distractions of the Thirty Years' War, after it was over men returned to them again in a large measure,

or expanded and completed them especially in connection with the German schools which were becoming more common and more efficient in many regions. Even the twofold form of catechetical sermons, which now treated the Catechism in full sermons throughout the whole year, now in an abbreviated manner at certain seasons of the year, was continued. Thus we possess, e. g., two series of catechetical sermons by Johann Arndt (2nd edition 1620); in the first he expounded the Catechism in sixty sermons, in the second in eight.

During the first decades of the 17th century, however, a twofold evil arose which afterwards was only overcome by a long and violent strife. In catechetical instruction both in the *Kinderlehre* on Sundays as well as during the weeks preparatory to the Lenten examination and even in the German schools many were more and more satisfied with the mere memorizing of the text of the Catechism of Luther, without an understanding of its meaning, and the pastor only too willingly left this mechanical labor to the sacristan, limiting himself to the examination of the children before their first communion and then being satisfied if the text had been firmly committed to memory. While this had frequently taken place already during the 16th century, it now became much more common. We find the cause of this not only in the indolence and pride of the pastors who regarded themselves superior to the labor of instruction. Sometimes it came from a deterioration of the conception of faith, in consequence of which a mere knowledge of the truths of faith was regarded as saving faith itself. Still more frequently it was due to an unreserved, though onesided, confidence in the efficacy of the Holy Ghost, who is bound to be operative in the human heart, if only the Word is imparted to it in some way. So a *Leipziger Spruchbuch* of 1605 says without any qualification: "If a man hears the Word of God diligently and repeats and contemplates it through diligent reading, then the Holy Ghost

effects a true knowledge of God and a right faith within the hearts of men."

The second evil consisted in this that both the catechetical sermon and the instruction in the Latin schools became more and more estranged from life; more abstract, theological, and doctrinal, and, as a result, more unfruitful. After the precise expression of Lutheran doctrine, in opposition to the deteriorations and falsifications that had crept in during the 16th century, became fixed in the Book of Concord of 1580, especially in the Formula of Concord, the temptation lay near at hand to work this whole material of doctrine into the books of catechetical instruction and even into the sermon, in spite of the fact that its detailed expression was designated only for theologians. Unfortunately men yielded to this temptation very often. As far as the catechetical books of instruction are concerned, we can recognize this tendency plainly in a much used book of the 16th century, in the *Catechesis* of Chytraeus: the short and simple *Catechesis* of 1554 in the fourth edition of 1576 became a voluminous book, a small Dogmatics. From the 17th century we will mention, as an example of the same sort, the *Haupt Artickel Christlicher Lehr* of the Hannoverian rector Statius Buscher of 1622. This book had been written for the lower grades and still it was thought that just because of its *Definitiones* and *Distributiones* it would be able to educate the youth to a right knowledge, fear, and love of God. An especially bad example of this kind, however, we find in the *Institutiones Catecheticae* of Conrad Dietrich, active at Giessen and Ulm, of 1613. In itself a good book which was designed for students and pastors, it has nevertheless for a long time produced evil results through its employment of all the terminology of Dogmatics and of the history of dogma in the explanation of the Catechism. The abridged edition of the *Institutiones,* which was intended for the school, was likewise too technical. Zacharias Schilter of

Leipzig went still further. In his explanation of the Small Catechism of 1602 he treated the words: "I believe in the Holy Ghost" under these six titles: 1. Testimonia τῆς ὁμοουσίας *Spiritus sancti cum Patre et Filio;* 2. ἰδιώματα *interiora Personae S. sancti a ceteris duabus Personis* ὑποστατικῶς *distinctae;* 3. ἰδιώματα *exteriora, quibus ab ijsdem duabus Personis discernitur, partim interiora, partim exteriora;* 4. *Beneficia huius Personae propria;* 5. γνωρίσματα *praesentiae S. sancti in nobis;* 6. *Subiectum receptionis et causae exturbationis eiusdem, Qua cum pugnat retentio eiusdem perpetua, ex Sententia Calvinianorum.* Balthasar Coppius, assistant-director at Eisleben, in 1626 edited the Greek-Latin catechism of Laurentius Rhodomanus (1579; I 2, 79*) and almost smothered it with his annotations, which were mostly linguistic and grammatical. Religious and edifying results could hardly proceed from such methods.

Of the catechetical sermons we mention those of Aegidius Hunnius of 1592 (I 2, 35*; I 2, 161-165). Where these do not touch on disputed questions, they are enriched with an abundance of Biblical thoughts, are expressed in a simple way, and, in spite of their doctrinal leaning, are not without real fervor; where, however, they touch upon controversial matters, they forget to distinguish between the pulpit and the lecture room; most unfortunately of all in the communion sermons that revel in a terminology which might be unintelligible to many a theological student of our own times. Chr. Barbarossa from Otterndorf near Hamburg similarly overstepped the limits in his *Dispositiones Catechcticae* of 1595 (2nd ed. 1611; I 3, 846 f.). Fr. Fischer, from Budissin, in his catechetical sermons (2nd ed. 1610) treated the person of Christ in four parts: 1. of the names and surnames of this Person; 2. of His two natures; 3. of the union of these natures; 4. of the communion which arises from this union. Here not only were Latin quotations from the Church Fathers

and the refutation of corresponding errors, but the hearers were also made familiar with the three *gradus communicationis,* the *communicatio proprietatum,* the *communicatio operationum et officiorum,* and the *communicatio maiestatis.* Jakob Stoecker at Eisleben in 1634 published a volume in quarto, of 1391 pages, with the title: *Elenchus Catecheticus.* These are sermons which in connection with the Catechism deal with the Roman doctrines point by point and prove them erroneous. Johann Hertzog, deacon of the Church of the Holy Cross at Dresden, filled 740 pages in quarto with his sermons on the first three Commandments (1650) and in the index enumerates 75 Hebrew and 28 Greek words quoted in these sermons and treated in detail. About 2200 pages were required to publish his sermons on the Ten Commandments! But even where there was still some understanding left for the need of simple and practical methods, together with a certain warmth of presentation, as in the catechetical sermons by C. Stiller of Freistadt (1620) and G. Weinrich of Leipzig (1622), we still find many Latin fragments with which the preacher thought he had to adorn his discourse, and strange distinctions, taken from dogmatics, rhetoric, and logic, and introduced into the Catechism, with a result that did not contribute to edification. Weinrich even at one place expresses the opinion (p. 385) that a child of six or seven years may prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost from the proofs he has drawn from the Catechism! Even Johann Arndt, who above all others opposed everything onesidedly intellectual in instruction, sermon, and life, thought, in his catechetical sermons (2nd ed. 1620, p. 138), he had to raise and answer the question of the Nature according to which Christ was elevated to the right hand of God.

Yet were we to stop here and create the impression by what has been said that we have given a complete picture of the use of the Catechism during the period of Orthodoxy,

this would, indeed, agree with the usual statements of historians, but we would also become guilty of an inexcusable suppression of undeniable facts. It is only half of the picture. To render it complete we must remember that quite a number of the best expositions of Luther's Catechism published before the period of Orthodoxy were frequently republished between 1580 and 1676. Furthermore we must consider the complaints of many worthy men who suffered from this situation, and consider the energetic attempts that were made to change these deplorable conditions and to introduce a method of instruction more adequate to the purpose. We meet with such efforts in the midst of the storms of the Thirty Years' War which devastated the German churches and schools, as well as during the years preceding and following.

We mention only a few of those expositions of Luther's Catechism that originated in the former period but were reprinted again and again after 1580. Tetelbach's exposition of 1568 was republished in various parts of Germany in 1581, 1582, 1590, 1591, 1596, 1601, and 1603; in 1623 it was translated into Low German; in Brandenburg it was in use for several decades of the 17th century, and the exposition of Aumann of 1597, used in Hannover, is based upon Tetelbach as is that of Raudte of Chemnitz. The Nuernberg Sermons for children of 1533 still exercised their influence, especially at Nuernberg and in Brandenburg-Ansbach; Laurentius Laelius (d. 1634) based his *Fragstuecklein* upon them, and Hammerschmidt again edited the *Fragstuecklein* in 1665 with a new preface; the same is partly true of Meder's *Fragstuecke* for Hohenlohe of 1595. Moerlin's explanation (of 1547, 1554, 1562) appeared again in 1584 and 1599 at Heinrichstadt. Rosinus' Catechism of 1580 had been incorporated in the Catechism for Torgau (1594, 1676) and for Weimar (1595). None of these expositions betray any of those traits usually ascribed to the period of Orthodoxy;

on the contrary, we find among them the most childlike explanations which the Reformation period produced. The *Corpus Doctrinae* of Iudex of 1564 is of different character, it is true, but neither does it have the earmarks of a dead orthodoxy; it was republished in all parts of Germany in High German in 1581, 1584 (three times), 1587, 1588, 1590 (two times), 1592, 1593, 1595 (three times), 1597, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1608, 1611, 1616, 1623, 1659, 1660; in Low German in 1581, 1583, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1603 (twice); in Latin and German in 1583, 1590, 1613, 1619; in four languages in 1582 and 1599 (cf. I 3, 469*). The popular sermons on the Catechism by Simon Musaeus of 1568 were reprinted in 1580 and 1589. Those by Chr. Vischer of 1573 in 1593 and 1608 (I 2, 193* 197*); those of Celichius (1581) in 1599; those of Cyriacus Spangenberg of 1564 in 1592 and 1602. Bischoff published his catechism manuscript of 1575 in 1599 and in its printed form it was used at least until the author's death in 1614; it belonged to the best expositions of the 16th century.

Then we think of all the various complaints of the worthy men who suffered under the situation and who attempted to improve it. The most noteworthy were the efforts by Johann Arndt and Johann Gerhard. The first, while still at Brunswick, wrote his *True Christianity,* which he began to publish in 1606. After he was called to Celle, he issued his *Paradiesgaertlein* (1612), his Postil (1616), and his Catechetical Sermons (1617); all this was done so as "to bring back the minds of students and preachers from the contentious and polemical theology which has almost produced another *theologia scholastica;* to lead the believers in Christ away from the dead faith to one producing the fruits of faith; to bring them from mere knowledge and theory to a real practise of faith and godliness, and to show what is the right Christian life which agrees with the true faith, and what the apostle meant when he said: 'yet not I, but Christ liveth in me'."

See also the *Kirchen- und Schulordnung fuer Braunschweig-Lueneburg* of 1619 published under him (Vormbaum II, 212). By him Johann Gerhard at Jena was influenced, who even in his *Loci Theologici* (1616-1637) pointed out the importance of the various portions of doctrine for the Christian life, and by his *Meditationes Sacrae* (1606) became a leader who guided many into the inner life. In the first part of his *Geistliches Kleinod* (1634) he explained the Catechism of Luther by means of such passages of Holy Scripture which were not only *dicta probantia*, but which were at the same time full of moving power and consoling comfort.

Under the influence of Arndt and Gerhard a renewed and more understanding use of the Catechism began in many cities. At Nuernberg, in 1615, Joh. Will instituted the *Kinderlehre* on Wednesdays in addition to the reading of the sermons for children on Sundays, and Chr. Leibnitz endeavored in 1624 not only to make attendance at the Sermons for Children compulsory for the young, but demanded that after the reading "fitting brief and easy questions taken from the words and order of the sermon just read be put to the young people, and that so the sermon that had been read was to be well analysed, repeated briefly and impressed upon their souls" (Hirsch. *Nuernbergische Catechismus- und Kinderlehrenhistorie*, 1752, p. 92 ff.). Out of this came the *Nuernberger Kinderlehrbuechlein*, first printed in 1628, which with all its emphasizing of justification by faith did not grow weary of stressing the life that originates from it: "He who does not begin to keep the Law in the power of the Holy Ghost, has not the Holy Ghost, is no true child of God, but only a canting Christian" (1635, p. 75). Therefore to each Commandment the question is added: "Have you kept this Commandment?"

In Wuerttemberg Joh. Val. Andreae exposed the insufficiency of the customary catechetical instruction and turned all the weapons of his sagacity, wit, and derision against it,

especially in his *Theophilus* (1622, resp. 1649), where he demonstrates on his "George" both, how one may have the Catechism in memory, but at the same time understand nothing at all of it nor be able to apply its truth to life (German edition by Oehler, p. 22-25), and where he in contrast to the merely quizzing catechist describes a real teacher thus: "A good teacher leads, while a bad one drags; the one gives light, the other darkness; the one teaches, the other confuses; the one guides, the other pushes; the one stimulates, the other depresses; the one scatters cheer, the other fear; the one builds up, the other tears down. In short, unless the teacher himself be a book, yea, a library, an itinerant museum: unless he himself be a personification of the right method of handling and superintending the task; unless he himself be the embodiment of the genius and method of all language and science, and, in addition, an ornament and flower of State and Church, he, once for all, is not according to my taste. For to take up books and finish them one after another, to drive and to goad to exertion, to enforce injunctions, rules, and fiats, and to hammer them in—that is something anybody can do; but to lay down the main contents of a lesson, to prepare the way to an understanding of it, to make the application, to teach the correct use, to go ahead with a good example, and finally to bring everything into harmony with Christ:—that is the teacher's true function, that is a task worthy of a Christian, for which all treasures on earth are not sufficient remuneration." (p. 128). While in Calw, where he was *Dekan* and *Specialsuperintendent* from 1620 to 1639, he had the children first memorize the text of the Catechism as well as of his *Evangelische Kinderlehre aus heiliger, goettlicher Schrift* (1621), and then led the pupil on by a freer treatment, frequent repetition, clear recapitulation, explanation, and application to a point where he could give the meaning of the

first memorized words with real understanding and "was able to give a ready and intelligent account of his faith." That he did not lose contact with actual life was a matter of course with him, for in the midst of the misery of the great war which particularly afflicted Wuerttemberg, he became the pioneer for all the subsequent work of Inner Missions.

In Strassburg Johann Schmidt and Johann Dannhauer labored for the improvement of the catechetical instruction. Schmidt in particular was a real pioneer in this work. Hardly had the *Kleine Katechismus-Schule* by Justus Gesenius appeared anonymously in Brunswick in 1631, when Schmidt had it reprinted for Strassburg (1632) and provided it with a preface; as he also did in the case of the *Auszug aus der kleinen Katechismusschule* (1636). In the preface he first lays stress upon the literal memorizing of the material. Then he continues: "After this, when children and servants are able to recite the words of the Catechism . . . distinctly and readily, parents and masters must not remain content with this result, but should discuss the text with them, and find out how they understand it, and where they cannot at once explain all in a simple manner, change the form of the question or state it in different words, that they may ascertain whether they understand what they have recited or not. For it frequently happens that young people can repeat the Catechism with or without the explanation, but when they are questioned about their understanding of any part or when the wording of a question is even slightly changed, they don't know what to say. . . . Such a heedless man, even if he had committed to memory the whole Bible, will never derive any great profit from it. Therefore at home the meaning of all the words and their right understanding must be made clear, that the youth may better comprehend from day to day how they shall profitably apply all they have learned in Catechism to their

daily life and how to use it in various situations for deliverance from evil and offence, for consolation, etc."

The *Katechismusschule* was intended for instruction in the home. In 1638, Schmidt turned, in his *Sendbrief,* to the pastors and instructed them in the right teaching of the Catechism (epitome in: Ernst and Adam, *Katechetische Geschichte des Elsasses,* 1897, p. 206 ff.). He reasoned:

"Three things are needed in the use of the Catechism and the *Kinderlehre:* 1. Good Christian *praeparatio* or preparation for the same; 2. the *actus examinis* itself; 3. the blessed conclusion." The private preparation requires that the pastor at home devoutly consider the importance and dignity of the *Kinderlehre,* that he implore the help of God's grace and that he meditate diligently on the respective part of the Catechism, considering "each and every word and phrase, both of the original text and of the explanation, with the greatest diligence, placing them as it were on fine scales, investigating their significance, comparing them with other passages of Holy Scripture, that he might thus reach the right understanding of their meaning," and in thinking over "how he may tell it to his simple parishioners and pupils in the most clear and simple way, that they may grasp it and retain it in their memory." To this we must add the right preparation in the church, which shall consist in punctual appearance, right classification of the children ("not *ratione annorum et aetatis,* but *ratione profectuum et diligentiae*") and devout song and prayer (the children shall kneel). In the act of the examination itself the catechist must pay attention to himself as well as to the children. The catechist must endeavor that he correctly presents that which he has meditated upon at home and he will best succeed in doing so if he employs good text-books, like Luther's Large Catechism. "The lecture and explanation shall be: a) *perspicue et clare,* as clear as possible;" foreign words and unusual expressions are to be avoided, that the meaning may be grasped at once, "for which purpose it is well that the teaching of the Catechism be illustrated and emphasized with fine examples and stirring stories." However it is necessary "to use discretion, that in place of such stories *fabulae* and poems, as they are common in Jewish and papal *Kinderlehren* are not selected. The stories of Holy Scripture should be preferred and be inculcated under all circumstances; others may be added to these according to circumstances, but *rare, instar condimenti,* and only such in which virtue or vice,

reward or punishment are described *graviter et religiose;*" b) "*devote,* with sincere devotion in words and actions;" for people look upon the outward appearance and external impressions will long remain, for good or for evil; c) "*prudenter* and with discretion;" all must be applied to the present time, but in "public application too many *personalia* should not be used;" d) "*mansuete,* gently, and kindly," not to deluge "the children with violent language or address them with rude words except when they publicly engage in coarse and offensive vice;" it is best to be at once mild and severe, that one may be feared and loved at the same time; e) *patienter,* with patience," full of tolerance for the weak, severe only against "deliberate carelessness;" f) "that also the *quantum* may be well taken care of," 1. that the children be not overburdened, "just as one must handle a vessel which is narrow at the top very carefully, and pour in liquor which one wishes to keep therein, as it were, by drops, else the most runs off at the side and is lost;" therefore the rule is "to offer and consider little at a time but impress it thoroughly on their hearts," after the principle, *non multa, sed multum,* and always first reviewing the preceding lesson; 2. the children should not be detained too long; "in one hour, if applied right, much that is useful may be said and heard;" if necessary one may add "another quarter of an hour at a conveniently warm season." In regard to the pupils one had to pay attention: a) "that the young children recite all the words clearly, distinctly, and without mutilation," else "God's Word will be despised and after a while falsified and lost;" b) "that all pay close attention;" therefore "one must not question the children in rotation, but skip about from one to another;" c) "that children who are industrious be publicly praised in moderation: it is an encouragement for all;" d) "that in examination the beginning may be made with those who have a greater degree of intelligence," to avoid all embarrassment of the weaker. Song and prayer shall conclude *Kinderlehre,* also "a short and emphatic review of that which had been considered in this lesson, with a fitting exhortation." Nobody shall "return home empty like a broken vessel, *sine aculeis in pectoribus,*" but the children are to be dismissed in order and quietly, "that all that day and long afterwards they may feel as if they still heard their pastor talking with them. Such impressions are productive of much good as is shown by many examples in Holy Scripture."

To a time producing such evidence of true spirituality, the epithet of "sterile doctrinarianism" should no longer be applied, especially as this work by Schmidt was by no means

the only one. In extent of knowledge Schmidt expected much from the pupils. This we learn from the first edition of the *Katechismusschule* by Gesenius, which he had reprinted at Strassburg, as well as from the *Christliche Hausschule* by Heuppel (1641), which was intended to take the place of the other book and was prefaced by Schmidt. Here the doctrine of the two natures is treated in the following questions (p. 145): "What is such a personal union? Of what does it consist? What was its consequence? What is the communion of the natures? What is the communion of the attributes? Which are the divine attributes? Which are the attributes of the human nature? Of what does the communion of both natures consist? What is the particular personal communion of the natures? What is the personal assumption of human attributes? What is the personal communication of divine attributes? What is the personal cooperation of both natures? What then took place in Christ?" Similar matter is found in the *Collegium Decalogicum* of Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1638) and in his *Catechismus-Milch oder Erklaerung des christlichen Catechismi,* which consists of catechetical sermons and is composed of ten parts in five quarto volumes (1657-1678). This elaborate entering into the details of Christian doctrine was of course a very unfortunate mistake; but at that it is not gray theory that we find here, but concrete life and fruitful application. He who is acquainted with Dannhauer's dogmatics (*Hodosophia Christiana,* 1649, 1666, 1695, 1713), and knows that Dannhauer uses a fundamental thought which insures the application of the dogmatic truth to the Christian life, is not surprised that it is so.

This unfortunate delving into the details of Christian doctrine that we meet even in the best catechetical productions of this period—even in Spener—is partly explained by the fact that since 1580, and in some places since 1560, the

Lutheran Church of Germany was engaged in a constant life and death struggle with Calvinism and Jesuitism. So we can understand how even a man like Arndt in his catechetical sermons could raise the question about the Nature according to which Christ was elevated to the right hand of God. "All book stores are filled with polemic writings against us," said Nicolai. And Schluesselburg in his *Catalogus Haereticorum* (3d vol. 1597, p. 35) wrote: "The Calvinistic heresy eats like a cancer into all parts of the whole body of the Church of God in Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Palatinate, Anhalt, Wesel, Bremen, and into the other states and regions."

From Strassburg we are led to Brunswick and Hanover. In Brunswick Justus Gesenius, pupil and friend of Calixt, published, in 1631, the *Kleine Katechismusschule* mentioned above. The reason was, as he himself afterwards said, the religious ignorance and immorality that had arisen through the war: "Tears do not suffice to lament all our misfortunes. The barbarity has become too terrible, the ignorance too shameful. I have tried to meet this ignorance and this ever increasing indifference in my own way, by publishing this catechetical treatise" (E. Bratke, *Justus Gesenius,* 1883, p. 56). The catechism for the home was to be made a reality again, therefore the book was addressed in the first place to the fathers in the home and wanted to show them how they should lead their own families into the fundamental truths of Christianity. The first part was intended for the most uneducated (76 pages); the second shows the fathers how they can most successfully instruct the other members of their families in the truths of the Catechism (396 pages); the third is a collection of appropriate Scripture passages which, however, exceeds all limits (542 pages). The first and second parts are the really important ones. Here Gesenius endeavors to secure a fundamental knowledge of salvation; but he constantly insists that it is only of the right kind where it proves

itself by real activity. In this he goes so far that through his accentuation of sanctification justification hardly gets its due. Appointed in 1636 court and cathedral preacher at Hildesheim, he published in 1639 an epitome from the *Katechismusschule* with the title: *Kleine* (later: *kurze*) *Katechismusfragen ueber den Kleinen Katechismus Luthers.* This was introduced in the same year into the churches and schools of the principality of Calenberg. It consists of three parts: 1. Luther's Catechism; 2. Questions for the most simple; 3. Explicit and complete questions and answers on the Five Chief Parts. The most important material we find in the third part. This shows the same general character as the larger work and, like this, is directed toward the awakening of a real faith that would be known by its fruits. Gesenius indeed stresses memorizing of the main parts, which were stated in questions and answers, but among the 15 hints with which he opens the book in the preface, we find these:

"5. First, a little instruction must precede (the memorizing) and upon occasion also a short admonition. Not that one should here offer an extensive treatment or sermon, but there should be a brief oral explanation; after a question has been asked and answered two or three times and the answer has been repeated by the *Informatore* or teacher of the Catechism aloud and with clear enunciation;—after such clear review has taken place, then, upon occasion, short yet severe admonitions and warnings shall be interjected, above all when adult hearers are present. For without warning and admonition, the teaching of the Catechism becomes a drowsy exercise and will lack appreciation and devotion. 6. The questions are frequently twofold, at times even threefold (e. g., the first question is given in this threefold form: 1. To what purpose and for which reason did God at first create man and place him on this earth? 2. What was God's intention when He made such a creature, as man, and gave him the universe to inhabit? 3. Why and to which purpose does man really live on this earth? The answer to this one question with its three variations is: 1. That man know God, his Creator, honor, and serve Him; 2. That he also serve his neighbor and show love towards him. 3. Because he has here no continuing city, that he seek the one to come). These questions should

be asked with care, not however as if each and every time they should be asked with all these variations: this is not always necessary nor useful. But because so much depends on the manner of questioning and because in this way an approach is gained to the understanding of the dear youth and the simple may be thus aroused to careful consideration, therefore the questions must not be put in too unusual a form but afterwards should be somewhat altered and at times be put in other words. To this end it has been my wish to show the diligent catechist and the simple father of the home how they might vary and change the questions, that through such simple changes simplicity, attention, and devotion may be awakened in the youth and they may be forced to do their own thinking. 11. If, however, this instruction is to produce any profitable results the teacher must live as he teaches, otherwise neither the youth nor the grown people will believe the truth as they are taught it. 15. The young people must completely memorize the questions in addition to the Catechism and explanations of Luther and must not be admitted to Communion till they can repeat them intelligently in the Confirmation and public examination customary in these regions, and are able to give a good account of their Christian faith and religion."

To a lesser degree than with Gesenius the edifying feature appears in single sentences and passages in the Catechism written by Michael Walther for the principality of Celle and Grubenhagen and published for the second time in 1653; here, on the contrary, "the clear presentation and the vigorous language themselves create the impression of a living faith, so that no extended applications appear necessary" (Ehrenfeuchter, *Zur Gesch. d. Katech.*, 1856, p. 90). Indeed, Walther was concerned above all things about the right understanding, clear comprehension, and definite statement of doctrine, but for all this his explanation does not become dry and cold, but is pervaded with the warm breath of deep piety which immediately appeals to the reader. Moreover, we read in the introductory instructions of 1651: "The pastors and schoolmasters shall see to it with diligence that the hearers do not recite the words without understanding, but grasp them aright and intelligently avail themselves of the quoted passages of

Scripture, read them to the hearers from the Holy Bible, that each and every one may retain the true foundation of the saving knowledge of God. We further hold it profitable that with each point of faith on occasion there be connected a very short instruction, and particularly that an admonition be added with each virtue and a warning with each vice in the briefest manner, especially when adult and old people are present." The superintendents shall keep watch that this *Kinderlehre* is held faithfully and that the parents send their children to school. The children shall not be admitted to the Lord's Supper "till they have grasped the Catechism in such manner that they can recite it intelligently and can give a simple account of their faith."

In the Thuringian regions ecclesiastical instruction received especially active support from the General Superintendent Kromayer (see his ordinance for schools for Weimar of 1619 in Vormbaum II, 215 ff). Still better, more systematic, more fundamental for subsequent times were the efforts put forth in Gotha by Duke Ernest the Pious (1601-1675) and by such splendid educators as Evenius and Reyher. They succeeded in putting into practice the constructive ideas of the eminent pedagogue Ratichius (died 1635) and the still greater Amos Comenius (1592-1671), and built up model schools throughout the region. The school regulations of 1642, and its subsequent amplifications, stipulated that in the villages all boys and girls, from five to twelve years of age, must attend school; the generous duke furnished the needed equipment, in part even the school books; he insisted on the employment of efficient teachers; and he was the first to incorporate (1642, 1662) such scientific branches, as arithmetic and natural history, into the curriculum of the village schools which formerly had included only religion, reading, writing, and singing. Thus in every way he laid the foundation of the Christian common school of today. This of course

also had a beneficient effect on religious instruction. The ordinance *Schulmethodus* demanded gradual progress of the instruction according to definite outlines adapted to the different classes and gave the teachers directions for making their instruction more effective. Thus seven books for the religious instruction came to be issued: 1. the text of the Parts of the Catechism; 2. Luther's Catechism; 3. the *Kurze Begriff* by Sal. Glassius (i. e., a short explanation of Luther's Catechism); 4. a book consisting of 160 passages of the Bible; 5. Psalms, hymns, and prayers; 6. Biblical narratives; 7. the book of the Gospels (pericopes). In the catechetical instruction, with which we are here alone concerned, the thoughtless memorizing was abolished (except the memorizing of the text) and replaced by a rendering of the sense in other words. Special emphasis was placed upon their practical application, that the children not only "gain a fine knowledge of Christianity, enabling them to render a good account of the articles of faith and duties of life," but that they also learn repentance through diligent self-examination and give evidence of their faith by their lives. The *Kurze Begriff*, in the treatment of the first three Parts, offers little more than a lucid analysis, on which great emphasis was laid at Gotha. The explanation of Baptism, on the other hand, of Repentance, Confession and Absolution, of the Lord's Supper, and of the Table of Duties progresses beyond this point and is full of reference to the daily Christian life. This was to be expected from Glassius, for his motto was: "The true, not the painted, faith brings salvation."

Before this time Andreas Cramer (1615-1630) had already been active at Magdeburg. Spener later (1669) republished one of his writings. His opinion concerning the catechetical instruction of the late 16th and the early 17th century was as follows: "The Catechism is indeed used in the schools, but it is taught in a very inefficient manner. A lesson is assigned

to the boys, which they have to memorize and cram into their heads. While reciting the Catechism to the boys and having them repeat it is commendable in itself, it does not go far enough. No explanation is offered in the form of sermons adapted to children, or in the employment of Bible passages and illustrations; and they are not given an adequate spiritual understanding of the Catechism. Nor is any application to life and Christian practise in evidence. When the boys grow older, the Catechism is treated in the same manner by means of a foreign tongue; the explanation is made with glosses in a foreign tongue; but all without profit, *memoria coacta, sine intellectu, sine praxi.* Therefore Christianity has not been edified." Cramer, however, took it upon himself to supply what was needed and wrote a "Guide, how to instruct the youth in the fear of God, in arts, and in languages," to show the teachers how they might lead the youth into the correct understanding of the Catechism and teach them to live truly Christian lives.

Finally we recall Danzig. Here the Reformed preacher Ernestus Andreae had published his book: *Die vernuenftige lautere Milch fuer die jetzt gebornen Kindlein* (3. ed. 1663), in which he warns "that one should not bind the children to the words, but, after they have grasped the sense and meaning, permit them to use similar words instead of those employed by us." In 1653, the Lutheran Joh. Maukisch published his *Gemeine Nachricht, wie man die Jugend zu Hause und in den Schulen den Katechismus Lutheri abfragen koenne* (Public Instruction, How One may Question the Youth at Home and in the Schools about Luther's Catechism), in which he pleaded for the analyzing method. He later made practical use of these principles in his own *Katechismusmilch* (2. ed. 1679). And even five years before Maukisch had written his *Gemeine Nachricht,* the Lutheran pastors of Danzig had published a good Catechism in which, according to the preface, the Christian truth is presented in such a manner "that the

living power of the saving faith is felt in the heart, the Christian hearts by faith and living hope might become full of good courage, ready to exercise godliness, and filled with fervor and devotion for prayer, in order that they might be rich in all fruits of righteousness." Its principal author was Abraham Calov, who so often is pictured as a representative of a cold, heartless, and purely intellectual and polemical orthodoxy while, as a matter of fact, he was a man of deep piety (compare H. Leube, *Kalvinismus und Luthertum,* 1928, pp. 322-334).

It would be an easy matter to add further proofs to show how one-sided it is to designate the use of the Catechism in the period of Orthodoxy as abstract, dogmatic, and dry, designed exclusively for the purpose of stamping upon the intellect the truths of dogmatics, down to their finest distinctions. Our list of the catechetical literature from 1600 till Spener, which is by no means complete, includes more than 150 productions. In this connection we will mention only the Catechism of Quedlinburg of 1642, of Altenburg of 1646, of Frankfurt (on the Oder) of 1653. Further details are given in the author's article in the *Allgemeine Evang. Luth. Kirchenzeitung,* 1929.

From the foregoing it follows that one can hardly begin a new epoch in the history of the use of the Catechism with Phil. Jak. Spener, at least not as if he were a reformer who in opposition to the tendencies around him returned to Luther and even surpassed him. Undoubtedly he did valuable work. Called, in 1666, at the youthful age of 31 years, to the position of senior of the ecclesiastical ministerium at Frankfurt a.M., he at once took an interest in catechetical instruction because he was convinced that all preaching will be unavailing as long as no adequate basis of knowledge has been provided through thorough catechetical instruction. He directed that in each vesper-sermon that subject should be treated which was to be explained immediately afterwards in the *Kinderlehre.*

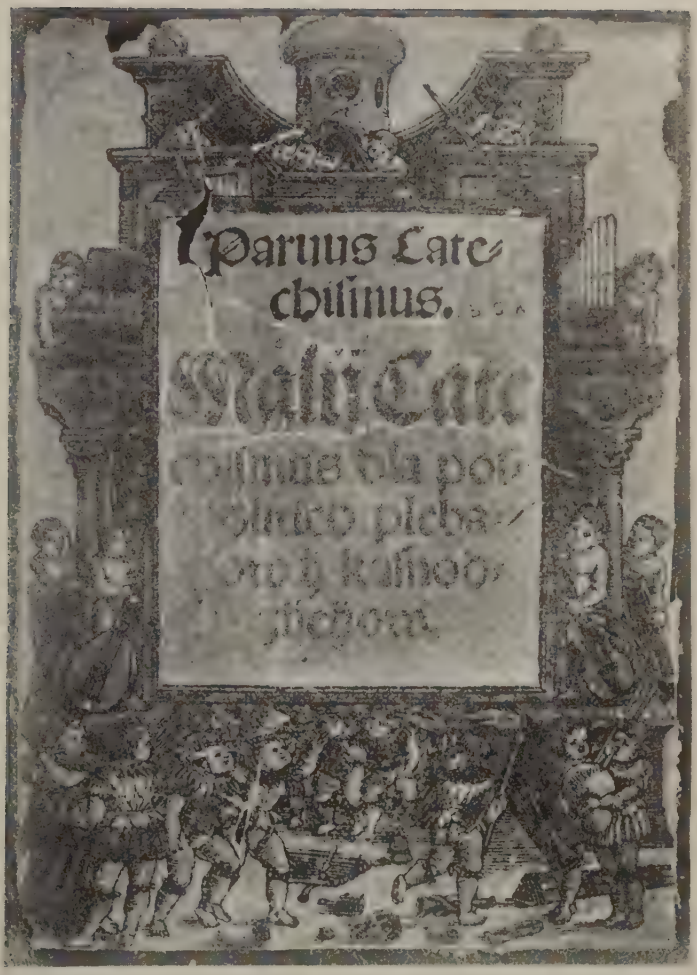


**PLATE EIGHT:** Title page of Schadilka's Polish translation, 1533

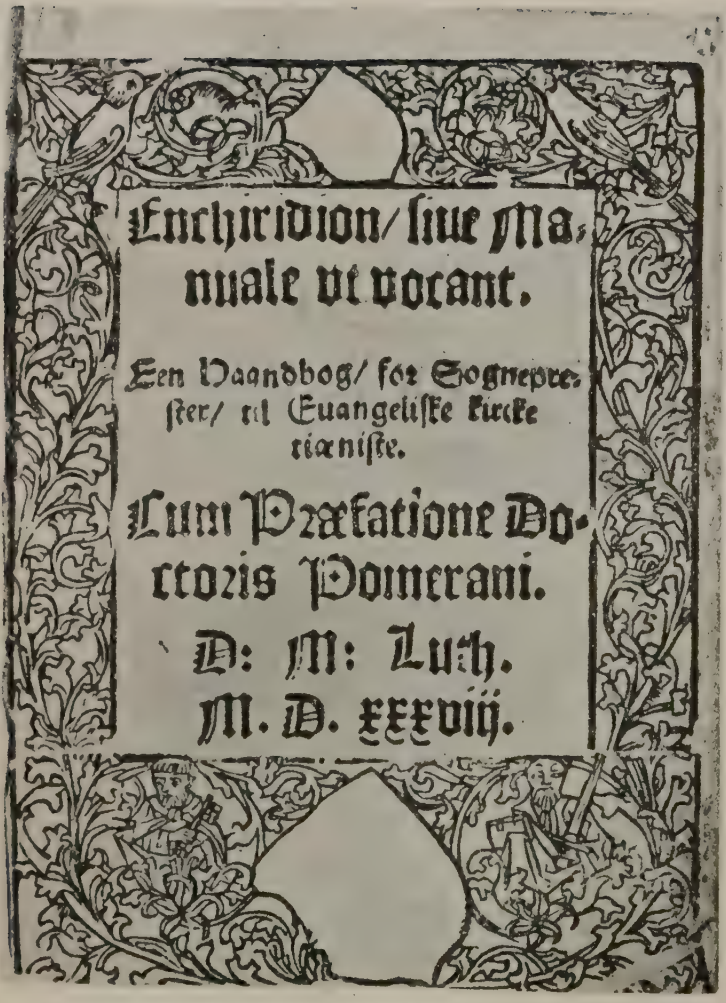


PLATE NINE: Title page of Palladius' Danish translation, 1538

He himself, though it was not part of his duties as Senior, did not consider himself above conducting *Kinderlehre* every Sunday afternoon. To enable the parents to prepare their children and the servants for that which was to be treated in the afternoon-*Kinderlehre,* he dealt with the same subject himself in the morning service, at which, as Senior, he officiated. Though he did this only in the introduction to the sermon on the prescribed pericope, he did it so thoroughly and extensively that these *Einleitungen* later (1689) appeared upon request as *Katechismuspredigten* (catechetical sermons). The instruction was at first attended only by children, whom he urged to be present, but his ability to adapt himself to the capacity of the simple, to arrange the material, to illustrate it from Scripture, and to apply it to life, made this hour so fruitful that soon adults were attracted. From this practical labor grew his *Einfaeltige Erklaerung der christlichen Lehre nach der Ordnung des Kleinen Katechismi Lutheri* (Plain Explanation of Christian Doctrine according to the Order of the Small Catechism of Luther) of 1677. In the preface to this book and in his *Theologische Bedenken* Spener expressed himself on the right use of the Catechism.

In the *Consilia latina* II, 29, he writes: "The catechetical instruction in the Church is as necessary as any one of the other duties of our office. For that is the unhappy disadvantage of our profession that the hearers of our sermons are usually ignorant of the most important fundamental truths. This is the reason that they hardly grasp skillfully composed sermons, but that they go over their heads, that they receive little beyond the sound, while the mind is not even reached by the words. And these they imagine they understand, because they have heard them so often, though, like the most ignorant, they do not understand their meaning. . . . This evil can be overcome if the catechization is conducted in the proper manner. For if the foundation has thus been laid, we shall have many hearers at the regular sermons who are not unfamiliar with the truths we present. Their power can enter the heart, like a seed which is strewn upon the well prepared soil, but without a preliminary plowing it could hardly take root. This the

Ancient Church has realized. There we find the special office of a catechist, and the greatest lights of the Church did not consider themselves above engaging in such instruction. Judging from results I would not place the office of a catechist behind that of a public preacher, as I know from experience that even adults in a single hour of catechetical instruction have gained far more profitable knowledge than from several successive sermons which they have heard from the pulpit."—In the *Bedenken* 1, 631 f.: "Examinations should consist not merely in questions and the repetition of the answers found in the Catechism, but in the analyzing of each question into many other questions, which, in turn, should be so formulated as to suggest the answer, so that the young are trained to reflect upon the subject and to answer from their own mind."—In the *Preface to the Catechism:* "As to the use of this little work, the idea is not to expect people merely to commit the questions and answers to memory (the catechism contains 1283 questions with some very long answers and, in the edition of 1679, occupies not less than 863 pages in duodecimo); that is a torture of the memory which I would rather warn against than advise. It is my opinion that writings such as this should be used as an aid to the intellect rather than as a burden to the memory. For this reason I would prefer that, by the use of these questions and answers, the subject should be so thoroughly imparted that people can answer from their own understanding of the subject and in their own words; this is better than that they should commit to memory the very finest formulas. . . . It must be laid down as a general principle among us that the youth entrusted to us should not only understand the truths of the faith with which they have become familiar, but also appreciate them as a divinely established rule of life and as an incentive to true godliness. Occasional exhortations, between examinations, for the purpose of adapting the truths learned to life, will be found expedient. It would also be exceedingly profitable for the preacher who is occupied with this humble work to train the young to go to Scripture itself for proof by turning to the Bible, or at least the New Testament—a book which they should always have with them. Instruction ought to be given them how to understand a passage according to text and context; how to analyze it; how to determine its meaning, and how to use it in proving the truth. This is a fine intellectual exercise and discipline; it results not only in such knowledge of the Bible that any passage can be readily found, but also promotes attentive reading of the Bible. The ultimate gain will be that the people's faith, which, after all, is based not on the Catechism, but on Scripture, becomes well

grounded, and that the conviction is wrought in them that their Catechism is really founded upon the Word of God." Spener considers it as of "the utmost profit when anyone would use these questions for himself, that he not only ponder the questions, but always examine himself as to whether he finds that which he is commanded or forbidden in the Ten Commandments within himself or not; whether, judging by the fruits that should result from faith, he has faith or not; how he may profitably use the remaining parts of the Catechism so that he applies what he has learned to himself."

Of his Catechism itself we must say that in method it is inferior to many others appearing in the 16. and 17. century. However, it has other designs than those; it was not meant to be a text-book, but intended for the use of the fathers, school-masters, and pastors and aims at being an extensive summary of the oral catechization, but it drags into the instruction a great amount of dogmatic and ethical material, whose elimination catechists before and after Spener have recognized as one of their duties. That among the details much that is popular and beautiful is found can not be denied. In the year 1715 *J. Spener's Gedanken von der Katechismus-Information* appeared at Halle. This is an epitome of the suggestions made by Spener at various times. They remind us much of Schmidt's *Sendbrief*. In regard to method they show us how large a place he still gave the examination-question alongside of the analyzing question. We get a clear impression how much he cared to "have the head enter the heart" and to lead to a living faith instead of to a merely correct faith: "Our faith is not concerned with the memory of certain formulas, but with the comprehension of real facts which have been described through the medium of the word." "The memory of certain school-formulas does not enter into our faith." Therefore teachers should impress upon the memory Luther's Chief Parts and the important passages of Scripture, but no scholastic definitions.—From his *Tabulae catecheticae* of 1683 (German by Pritius) we learn how much

he cared for the clear disposal of the material for the young, and how he therefore arranged Luther's periods in his explanation; on the other hand, however, he interpolated, as in his *Plain Explanation of Luther's Catechism,* many doctrinal points derived from dogmatics.

Spener can be described as reformer of catechetical instruction only by one who has no idea either of the catechetical labors of the Lutheran Church between 1530 and 1580 or even of those between 1580 and 1676. Indeed it is true that Spener energetically emphasized the duty of the religious instruction of the young and earnestly devoted himself to it, but the same thing had taken place before, and he himself repeatedly confesses that the model catechization he had seen at Strassburg, furnished him the strongest incentive to a similar undertaking. It is true that it was his heart's desire to teach the young how to apply the recognized truth of the Catechism to heart and life so that in his Catechism with almost every truth he repeats the question: "What consolation does it give me, and how does it lead me to salvation?" But he expressly admits that the catechisms of Gotha and Quedlinburg before him had already excelled in such edifying features. Again it is true that Spener desired the use of Holy Scripture in instruction and as the proof for every statement, but the same aim is found in the many *Spruchbuecher* in use before his time. His only step in advance was his desire that the pupils themselves have at least the New Testament in their hands, look up the passages and so become better acquainted with the Bible. He was an opponent of the excessive and mechanical memorizing and advocated a free rendering of the truth as it was apprehended; but Andreae, Cramer, Gesenius, and others had proposed the same thing before his time. He advocated the analyzing method, whether in connection with the apprehension of larger parts in Luther's Catechism or with the introduction into the understanding of smaller portions; but the

first had already found expression in the 16. century when Willich (1551) and C. Spangenberg (1557) wrote their Tables for the Catechism (I 2, 362; I 3, 144 f.), and the second had been practised in Gotha and Danzig (Maukisch). Thus we can say of Spener's catechetical efforts what his biographer Gruenberg says of his other complaints and endeavours: They cannot be regarded as a lone voice in the wilderness, but only as a leading voice in the chorus of pious wishes and proposals of reform. But this much is true: these many voices would not have found such wide and emphatic acceptance if he had not espoused the cause with the whole weight of his personality and the whole energy of his soul at such prominent places as Frankfurt (1666-1686), Dresden (1686-1691), Berlin (1691-1705). Through him it became a matter of course in wide circles that the pastor was not ashamed to conduct catechetical instruction, that he led into its better understanding by the use of the analytical method, and applied it to daily life. Among the Catechisms in this period written in accordance with the principles of Spener, the Dresdener *Kreuz-Katechismus* (thus called after the *Kreuzkirche,* Church of the Holy Cross, for which it was at first designed) of 1688, deserves first mention, together with that of Flensburg. Those of Herford of 1690 and of Mecklenburg of 1717 followed more independent courses.

Spener's success would not have been lasting if A. H. Francke and Jakob Rambach had not in subsequent times continued his efforts and developed them independently. Francke, who was influenced by Spener, but also by his early life in Gotha, where he was raised; as well as by other men who found themselves in opposition to Orthodoxy, which was becoming more and more a dead formalism, not only created at Halle a model school, but from the *Paedagogium* founded by him at that place teachers went forth to all the other regions of Germany and instituted schools after the ideas of

their master, till these at last, though with considerable modification, found their way through his disciple Hecker into the Prussian regulation for country-schools of 1763. According to Francke's school-ordinance of 1702 (Vormbaum III 1 ff.) the foremost purpose of all his schools should be this "that the children may be led above all else to a living knowledge of God and Christ and to a genuine Christianity. For this purpose they should not only diligently pray with them but also daily teach them God's Word and Luther's Catechism in the churches as well as in the schools. Thereby they may become accustomed to praying from their own hearts to God their Father in Heaven, asking for the Holy Ghost, for His grace, knowledge, faith, love, obedience, etc., in the name of Jesus Christ and also at the same time may bring the passages of the Holy Scriptures they have learned in an orderly and devout way into their prayers" (p. 3). The treatment of the Catechism should proceed through the three stages of recitation, explanation, and application. For thus the school regulation prescribes (p. 12): "The method, however, in the Catechism consists: 1. *in recitatione, 2. in explicatione,* 3. *in applicatione.* The preceptor 1. has the children recite that part which he wants to treat; 2. He shows them the plain meaning of each word of the Catechism, that the children may learn not to babble the words of the Catechism without understanding, which would do them little or no good; 3. He informs them how they should employ that which they have learned and which he explained to them 1) For a basis of faith, and 2) For an examination and improvement of their life. All this they should be taught, not through a long discourse, but by simple questions and answers, spoken with all love, gentleness and friendliness." That the explanation should develop through the analyzing question and that both, explanation and application, did not attempt to be too profound, we may learn from an illustration he employs (p. 13).

In the explanation of the passage: "Christ has given Himself for us" these questions are to be asked: Who has given Himself for us? For whom has He given Himself? What has He given for us? In the application, however, these: Who has given Himself for you? For whom has He given Himself? (For us, for me). Shall we not then love such a dear Savior who has given Himself for us?—If in Spener we already observed a tendency to a strong emphasis upon self-examination, in Francke through the adoption of the *Gewissensfrage* an element was introduced into the catechetical instruction which all too easily led to self-deception and hypocrisy. In this connection later Pietism liked to extol confirmation at the expense of Baptism, and praised it as the date of the regeneration effected through the inner activity of the Spirit, which, as they said, only began in Baptism. From this it follows that it was considered the work of the catechist to lead the catechumens through the single stages of the order of salvation and to let them experience these until in the regeneration and conversion the breaking forth of their new life took place and with it came the *Verspruch* (promise) connected with the confirmation, to devote themselves entirely to God. Here Luther's Catechism certainly lost its former central position in instruction; though it was not entirely rejected, its original place was occupied by the *Ordnungen des Heils* (Order of Salvation), of which many now appeared. We mention only those by Freylinghausen (Halle 1730) and by Starcke (Leipzig 1745).

In how senseless a manner the analyzing often took place, we can learn e. g., from a much edited book: *Der zergliederte Katechismus* by Chr. A. Loesecke in Brandenburg (we use the edition of 1758, which was, however, preceded by several others). Here the First Article is analyzed thus: "What does the First Article treat of? Of Creation. What does it say? I believe . . . earth. Who believes? I. What is it that you do? I believe. In whom do you believe? In God. What do you call this God? The Father. What kind of maker

do you call this God? Almighty. As what is he almighty? As Maker. Of what is God the Maker? Of heaven. Of what else? Of the earth. How does Luther's explanation begin? What is meant by this? (!) What do you do when you hear all that is said in the First Article? I believe. What do you believe in regard to your own creation? That God has made me. (Here three subquestions: Who has made you? Whom has God made? What has God done for you?) Together with what has God made you? (With how many creatures?) Together with all creatures. To whom has God given many blessings and goods through creation? To me. What, for instance, has God given you at your creation? My body. What else? The soul. What has He given you with the body? Eyes. What else? Ears. What then? And all the members. What has God given to your soul? Reason. What else? And all the senses. What do you say has God done with all these goods to you? He has given them. What else does God do to you? And still preserves, etc."—The table-form of Spener, was adopted, e. g., by the well known hymn writer E. G. Woltersdorff in his little book: "The Small Catechism of Luther Composed in Tables for the Instruction of the Youth," which was intended for confirmation instruction, (written before 1751, printed 1768). Much more was accomplished in this book than in Loesecke's *Zergliederung*. We give his table for the Third Commandment, though lack of space makes it impossible to present it as well arranged as it is in the original. The Third Commandment (Is. 58: 13. 14. Hos. 4: 6) I. *Commanded* is the sanctifying of the holy day, which is to be employed for special worship. 1. A holy day is a day of rest, i. e., a day of rest sanctified to God. a) In the Old Testament it was above all the Sabbath, the Saturday, the seventh day, in memory of the rest of God after the Creation, of the leading forth of the children of Israel from Egypt, that served as a pattern of the future eternal rest. c) In the New Testament, it is above all the first day of the week, the Sunday, in memory of the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and in addition all the common feast-days and days of repentance. 2. The sanctifying of this day is the employment of the same for divine worship. To this belongs: a) rest from the daily labor and from all things that hinder worship; works of necessity that cannot wait and works of charity are excepted. b) The salutary use of the public worship. This is the gathering of the congregation for the use of the means of grace. To this belongs: α) to regard as holy preaching and God's Word, to honor it and treat it with reverence; β) to gladly hear it, with a hungry heart, a joyful faith, and a willing acceptance; γ)

to gladly learn it, endeavoring to understand the Word, to keep it, to believe, to experience, and to do it; δ) the edifying performance of public prayer, singing, and the Sacraments; c) the faithful use of all opportunities to edification, e. g., *Kinderlehren;* d) the practice of private devotion, i. e., diligent practice of Word and prayer within the homes: α) secretly and alone; β) in communion with those of one's own household and others. II. *Forbidden* is the profaning of the holiday, when one does not regard it nor use it properly for worship, namely: 1. if one follows on this day his daily occupation; 2. if one despises the Word of God and the means of grace; 3. if one despises the public service by neglecting or abusing it through a) evil preparation, b) bad intentions, c) mere babbling of the mouth in singing and praying, d) corrupt, frivolous, and unfruitful hearing of the Word, e) mockery, blasphemy, forgetfulness, and wrongful application of the Word, f) the irritation of others through levity, chatter, and such things, g) false consolation and self-righteousness; 4. if one entirely omits the home devotion or conducts it perfunctorily; 5. if one desecrates the holyday through sloth, untimely pleasures, pomp, evil society, and the exercise of sinful lusts. III. *The cause is:* 1. not the special holiness of one day, for the days are all equal (Rom. 14:5); 2. but partly the need of a special day for public worship, partly the great blessing resting on it, and partly the own bodily rest needed by men and animals (Deut. 5:14).

The soundest position during this period was held by Jakob Rambach, after 1727 Francke's successor at the university and after 1731 professor and superintendent at Giessen. His book: *Der wohlunterrichtete Katechet* (after 1722) taught several generations how the Catechism should be used. In it he did not progress beyond the analyzing method. In the less known *Wohlunterwiesener Informator* (1737, edited after his death by Neubauer), however, we find the beginnings of the method of development, that observes the principle of proceeding from the easy to the difficult, from the well known to the unknown (esp. p. 140 ff.). Here, too, he says (following in Francke's steps) that it is only possible to teach Luther's Catechism to children successfully after one has given them 1. an easy preliminary instruction about God and divine things; 2. a short order of salvation; 3. a short account of the Biblical History. He also clearly recognized that not

only the mind but also the will of the children has to be "improved". "Most of the *Informatores* who themselves are not yet qualified, fail in this point and think that they have done their duty when they have imparted to the child the Catechism and certain Scripture passages, and when they have taught it reading and writing; they little care, however, about the condition of the will of the children; this they allow to grow up in its unruly and wild nature and so spread the kingdom of Satan within, thus making out of these poor children angels in their minds but devils in their wills by trying to make them learned without making them pious. On pages 162-235 he says things worthy of note on the approach to the will and how the will may be improved.

In Scandinavia the development followed the same lines as in Germany. During the 16th century the Lutheran Church of Sweden suffered many trials. Rome and Geneva were ever present and several times their victory did not seem impossible. In 1611 when Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne, the Lutheran church was at last officially recognized as the church of Sweden. Then came the period of ecclesiastical organization and orthodoxy (1611-1718). The character of the catechetical instruction during these decades becomes apparent from the German catechisms that were reprinted in Sweden. We name Tetelbach, Judex, Gesenius, and the catechism of Frankfurt o. O. Tetelbach's explanation, one of the most childlike brought forth in Germany during the second half of the 16th century, was edited in Swedish by Petrus Johannes Gothus and printed at Rostock in 1600: *Enchiridion Thet Gyldene Klenod. D. Martini Lutheri lilla Catechismus förklarat medh korta Frågor och Swaar.* In 1618 it was reprinted at Upsala. In 1662 the Short Questions by Justus Gesenius were republished at Stockholm. *Små Catechismi Frågor öfwer Lutheri Lilla Catechismum. Sammanfattade först på Tyska Språket, aff Justo Gessenio, D. Men nu*

*pö Swenskan afsatte, Ungdomen här i Landet til godo.* The Catechism for Frankfurt o. O. of 1653, in scope and character similar to that of Michael Walther of 1651, was republished in 1681: *Kort och Enfaldigh Förklaringh Öfwer dhen mindre Doct. Mart. Luthers Catechismum, Igenom wisse Frågor och Swar. Först stält, aff alle Luterske Predikanter uthi Frankfurt wid Oder: Sedan å nyo öfwersedd och förbättrad och nu omsider Heela Sweriges Ungdom, ia allom enfaldigom uthi dheras Christendoms styker på Swenska uthgången.* In I, 3, p. 467* ff we proved that the *Corpusculum Doctrinae* by Math. Judex of 1564 was much used in Sweden, including Finland and the Baltic Provinces. We gave the title of a Swedish edition printed at Reval and of a Latin-German-Swedish-Finnish edition of 1642. None of these Catechisms has the earmarks of "sterile orthodoxy." Neither can this be said of the sermons on the Catechism that were introduced from Germany into Sweden. In the sixth chapter we mentioned those of Pflacher published in Swedish in 1610; here we would add those of Simon Musaeus, reprinted at Stockholm in 1596, the most popular Catechism-sermons of the second half of the 16th century. But Sweden also produced many original explanations of the Catechism. The same men who excelled in this age by their gifts for ecclesiastical organization gave a number of valuable catechisms to the common people. Petrus Rudbeck (1619-1646 bishop at Westeräs), Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1609-1636 bishop at Strengnäs, 1637-1646 archbishop), Olav Laurelius (1647-1670 bishop at Westeräs), and Olaus Swebilius (1681-1700 archbishop) are in the front line. Rudbeck's Catechesis appeared in 1622 and was reprinted in 1627, 1628, 1630, 1632, 1633, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1646, 1651, 1653, 1655. It shows the noble features of the whole life-work of its author who was a pedagogue of fame, the founder of the first college in Sweden (1623), and a true bishop for his people. L. Paul Gothus is the author

of several catechetical writings. We mention the *Thesaurus Catecheticus* of 1631, a handbook for the catechist, the *Catechismus, Thet är, En Kort Summa* of 1637, a summary for the pupil. After the death of Gothus, the first mentioned, was given to the people in the form of an extract, by bishop Johannes Matthiae, the friend of Comenius. Wide use was also enjoyed by the "Simple Catechism Questions" of Olavus Laurelius: *Catechismus Lutheri, Medh en kort Förklarning, huru hans merckeliga och grundrijka Uthtydning, på the fem wår Christendoms Hufwudstyken, är enfalleligen til at förstå* (Westeräs 1649). They were reprinted in 1653, 1657, 1664, 1669, 1670. On Laurelius' recommendation the Formula of Concord was received in 1649 as one of the Symbolical Books of the Church of Sweden, but his Catechism was simple and in touch with life. After 1686 the Swedish church had one catechism for all its bishoprics and congregations: *D. M. Lutheri Catechismus Med enfaldige Spörsmål Förklarad, Och efter höga Öfwerhetens Befalning uthgången, på thet Prästerna enhälligt öfwer heela Rijket skola bruka samma sätt wid Ungdomens underwisning och Förhöör uti Christendoms Stycken* (Westeräs 1686). Its author was Hacquin Spegel, the pious composer of many hymns, the faithful promoter of Christian knowledge among the common people, who had been influenced by such men as Arndt, Scriver, and Spener. Though not recognized by many in this form, the book was recast by the archbishop Olaus Swebilius and published under his name in 1689: *Enfaldig Förklaring Öfwer Lutheri Lilla Catechismum, stält genom spörsmåhl och Swar, aff Olao Swebilio* (Upsala 1689). In this form it was used till 1811, when Lindblom made a revision; in 1843 it was again revised; and in this revised form it served Sweden till 1878. Swebilius did not remove the character Spegel had given to the book, hence it is indeed orthodox in doctrine, but it does not represent "dead and sterile" ortho-

doxy. While "home-examination of the Catechism," a peculiar Swedish institution according to which the pastor visits the various homes of his congregation at stated times and examines all its members in the Catechism, had already been instituted by Gothus; the church order of 1686 again prescribed that the parents should be admonished to have their children taught the principal parts of Christian doctrine, and that those who are entrusted with this instruction, viz., the pastor or the sacristan, should be urged to teach the children diligently. A prescript of 1695 declared that children who do not know their Catechism are not to be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

In Denmark and Norway there was a long fight against Melanchthonianism and Cryptocalvinism as fostered by Niels Hemmingsen (1513-1600), and as represented in the catechetical literature by the catechism of Hemmingsen and the Wittenberg Catechesis of 1571. It was through the never ceasing activity of Hans Pavel Resen, professor of Theology and (1615-1638) bishop of Seeland, that Lutheranism won out. Now the period of Orthodoxy began, ably represented by Resen and Jasper Rasmussen Brochmand (1585-1652). Brochmand is the best witness to the fact that the most faithful adherence to the Formula of Concord can go hand in hand with a pronounced, fervent, and simple piety. Strictly orthodox in his *Universae theologiae systema* (1633), he has given to the Danish people in his *Sabbati sanctificatio* (1635-1638) a collection of sermons full of life and comfort, that have been a source of true edification for two centuries. The catechetical literature of this period was to some extent influenced by Germany. In 1605 Spangenberg's edition of Luther's Large Catechism was issued in Danish. The *Liden Haandbog* of Thomas Cortsen Wegner, (1627), bishop of Stavangar, is partly based upon Tetelbach's *Gueldenes Kleinod.* The influence of the *Nuernberger Kinderlehrbuech-*

*lein,* Justus Gesenius, and M. Walther can also be traced. B. Rehfeld's *Theologia Catechetica* of 1651 and Chr. von Stoecken's (d. 1684) explanation *(Die vernuenftige lautere Milch des heiligen Catechismi)* appeared in German for Schleswig-Holstein before they were published in Danish. But in our period there also appeared a rich original catechetical literature in Danish. We have explanations of the Catechism by H. P. Resen, whose motto was, "If I forget thee, O Luther, and thy Small Catechism, let my right hand forget her cunning," who did much to improve the catechetical instruction, and gave his people Luther's Catechism in a revised Danish form. Brochmand is likewise the author of a catechism, edited by A. M. Hjoring. Beside these we note Th. C. Wegner's explanation in his *Liden Haandbog,* mentioned above, L. H. Munthe's explanation *for Ungdommen i Bergens Stift* (1644), Erik Pontoppidan's edition for Trondhjem (1673), Knud Sev. Bang's *Katechismi Brystmelk* (1681), Rostock's exposition of 1694, Lodberg's Questions (1720), Chr. Mumme's Information (1721), Hans Bornemann's book on the method of instruction (1694). It is true, several of these are marred by the faults peculiar to Orthodoxy. Rehfeld gives a system of Christian doctrine based upon Nic. Hunnius' *Epitome Credendorum;* Christen Steffenson Bang's *Postilla Catechetica* (1650-1657) fills ten volumes; nearly all the catechisms teach of sin and Christ in a more dogmatical way than in the simplicity of Luther's Catechism. Knud Bang, however, confined himself to Luther's text and L. H. Munthe descended to the level of the common man and the youth. Halle's Pietism was introduced into Denmark by Julius Luetkens, court-preacher at Copenhagen after 1704. Fostered by the king, especially by Christian VI, it won the victory. Erik Pontoppidan's catechism of 1737 put the pietistic stamp upon the instruction of the young for decades. It was written in accord with a royal

rescript of 1736 and published in 1737 under the title *Sandhed til Gudfrygtighed* (Truth to Piety). In Denmark it was the official textbook for school and church till 1791 when it was replaced by the rationalistic book of Balle. In Norway it held its own; the condensed form which soon followed the larger one exercised an immense influence upon the Norwegian people and in some regions was in use even after 1900; compare Chapter 12.

Since the catechisms of this period are not obtainable in America we append here parts of them.

**From Conrad Dietrich's Institutiones Catecheticae** depromptae e B. Lutheri Catechesi sive Catechismi Lutheri expositio of 1613. We use Dieckhoff's reprint of 1864. Here the explanation of the Second Article fills pages 241-313 and contains an abundance of learned notes in small type. Space does not permit us to print more than the questions; now and then we insert the answer. 1. Qua de re in secunda symboli apostolici articulo agitur? 2. Quaenam sunt eiusdem verba? 3. Quae est horum verborum sententia? (Luther's explanation). 4. Quot membra continet hic articulus eiusdemque explanatio? *I. De Persona Christi.* 1. Quinam articuli agunt speciatim de persona Christi. 2. Quis igitur est Jesus Christus? 3. Quaenam in hac personae Christi descriptione consideranda? (Quatuor praecipue. 1. Quae et qualis nominum appelatio. 2. Quot et quae in Christo naturae. 3. Quae et qualis naturarum unio. 4. Qualis item et quotuplex proprietatum earundem communicatio). 4. Quare ergo Filius Dei appelatur Jesus? 5. Quare appelatur Christus? 6. Quot vero et quae in Christo sunt naturae? 7. Quomodo probas Christum esse verum Deum? (Probo: 1. quia in Scripturis expresse et absolute vocatur Jehovah, Jer. 23, 6, et Deus, Joh. 20, 28; Rom. 9, 5, 1 Joh. 5, 20. Quia 2. est et vocatur Filius Dei proprius, Rom. 8, 32, et unigenitus Dei Filius, Joh. 1, 18; 3, 16, et primogenitus, Col. 1, 15; Heb. 1, 6, et aeternus, per aeternam generationem Patris Filius, Ps. 2, 7. Quia 3. epithetis et attributis omnibus soli Deo propriis insignitur. Est enim aeternus, Prov. 8, 21; Joh. 1, 1, immutabilis, Hebr. 1, 11, omnipraesens, Matth. 18, 20 et 28, 20. omnipotens, Matth. 11, 27, omniscius, Joh. 2, 25 et 16, 30, bonus, misericors, verax, iustus etc., teste Scriptura passim. Quia 4. opera mere divina propria virtute ad suam gloriam efficit, Joh. 1, 3; 5, 19. Quia 5. religioso cultu adorationis, soli Deo debito, afficitur. Conf.

Ps. 97, 7; Heb. 1, 6; Rom. 14, 11; Phil. 2, 9. Quia denique 6. sine eo tamquam salutis autore nulla potest esse salus, Act. 4, 12 et 10, 43 etc. Quae et alia, Christum vere, proprie, adeoque natura Deum esse indubitato demonstrant). 8. Quomodo probas Christum esse verum hominem? 9. Quod si Christus est verus Deus et verus homo, annon etiam in ipso sunt duae personae, et sic consequenter duo etiam Christi? 10. Quae igitur et qualis est duarum harum in Christo naturarum unio? 11. Quid est unio personalis? 12. Factane est unio ista hypostatica absque ulla communicatione? 13. Quaenam est ista naturarum communio? 14. Quales sunt praedicationes, cum Deus de homine, et homo de Deo enunciatur? *De communicatione idiomatum.* 15. Quid est communicatio idiomatum? 16. Qualis est ista communicatio idiomatum? 17. Estne vero una et eadem communicationis huius idiomatum ratio? De I. genere. 18. Quodnam est primum genus communicationis idiomatum? 19. Ergone secundum primum hoc genus communicationis, filium Dei vere esse passum, crucifixum et mortuum, credis? 20. Atqui passio et mors deitati per naturae conditionem non competunt, quo modo ergo Deus passus et mortuus dicendus est? De II. genere. 21. Quodnam est secundum genus communicationis idiomatum? 22. Quaenam et qualis est ista maiestas et gloria, quae Christo donata? 23. Proba Scripturae testimoniis divinam et infinitam gloriam Christo datam. 24. Proba omnipotentiam divinam Christo donatam. 25. Proba omniscientiam Christo donatam. 26. Proba virtutem vivificatricem Christo donatam. 27. Proba potestatem remittendi peccata et iudicii faciendi Christo donatam. 28. Proba maiestatem religiosae adorationis Christo donatam. 29. Proba denique omnipraesentiam Christo donatam. 30. Cum igitur infinita haec et vere divina maiestas Christo sit donata, velim nunc mihi declares, secundum quam naturam haec ipsi data sit? 31. Idipsum vero solidis et indubitatis fundamentis demonstres? 32. Quibus argumentis regulae huius veritas comprobatur? (The answer, together with the notes, fills six pages!) De III. genere. 33. Quodnam est tertium communicationis idiomatum genus? 34. Una igitur et eadem est utriusque naturae in actionibus his officii ratio? 35. Anne ergo in una eademque persona humana natura tantum agit humana, divina vero tantum divina, et sic commune effectum sive apotelesma producunt? 36. Sic igitur Christus actiones officii secundum utramque naturam perficit, ergone etiam secundum utramque naturam mediator noster erit? 37. Cedo testimonia aliqua, quibus probes Christum esse mediatorem secundum divinam naturam? 38. Profer testimonia, Christum esse mediatorem nostrum

secundum humanam naturam? 39. Sed cur oportuit Christum esse simul Deum et hominem? *De officio Christi.* This part fills the pages 290-313; seven questions refer to the status exinanitionis, ten to the status exaltationis, and five to the last judgment.

**From the Nuernberger Kinderlehrluechlein of 1628.** Should a baptized person be always ready to give a reason of the faith that is in him?. Yes, because God commanded it, 1 Pet. 3, 16; Matt. 10, 32-33. —Of what faith are you? I am a Christian.—After whom are you called a Christian? After Christ the Lord, after whom we Christians are called, Acts 11, 26.—Why are you a Christian? Because I believe in Jesus Christ and am baptized in His name, Acts 2, 38; Gal. 3, 27.—When we speak of true Christianity, what do we understand by the term, "to believe in Jesus Christ"? It means, to know Jesus Christ aright, to trust in Him and to obey Him, John 6, 69; 17, 3.—What should a Christian know? From a child he should know the Holy Scriptures that we find epitomized in the Catechism, 2 Tim. 3, 15.—What does the term "catechism" mean? Catechism is a Greek word and means oral instruction, Gal. 6, 6.—What is the Catechism? It is a short summary of the Christian doctrine taken from the Holy Scriptures, i. e., the books of the Prophets and Apostles, Eph. 2, 19; Acts 24, 14.—Why do you call the books of the Prophets and Apostles the Holy Scriptures? Because they were written under the inspiration of God the Holy Ghost and contain holy matter for the salvation of our souls, 2 Pet. 1, 19, 20; 2 Tim. 3, 15, 16. [Here follow five paragraphs on the Holy Scripture, edition of 1635, pp. 67-69. What do we learn from the Catechism? We learn how we Christians are to conduct ourselves so that our life is pleasing to God and we may be saved, 2 Tim. 3, 15, 16; Ps. 119, 18.—How many parts does the Catechism have? Six, without the Table of Duties: 1. The holy Ten Commandments of God; 2. The Articles of our Christian Faith; 3. The holy Prayer, Our Father; 4. Christ's Words of Baptism; 5. The Words of the Call and Office of the Word and of the Keys; 6. The Words of the Holy Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ.—What do we learn from the Ten Commandments? What is right and wrong: How we are to conduct ourselves towards God and towards our neighbor, Mic. 6, 8; Lev. 8, 4, 5.—Who gave the Ten Commandments? God Himself spoke them from heaven, wrote and gave them, Ex. 20, 1; Deut. 5, 22.—Where did He give them? In the desert, at Mount Sinai, with great thunder and lightnings, Ex. 19, 18.—When did He give them? On the fiftieth day after the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, Ex. 19, 1.

—Through whom did He give them? Through His servant Moses upon two tables of stone, Deut. 9, 10; 10, 1.—What is the contents of the first table? It contains the first three Commandments and teaches how we are to conduct ourselves towards God in thought, word, and deed, Deut. 6, 5; Matt. 22, 37.—What is the contents of the second table? It contains the remaining seven Commandments and teaches how we are to conduct ourselves towards our neighbor in thought, word and deed, Matt. 22, 39; 5, 21, 27, 33.—Can we completely fulfil the Laws of God or the Ten Commandments? No; but Jesus Christ, with His complete obedience, fulfilled the Law of God in our stead and appeased the wrath of the heavenly Father, Rom. 10, 4; Gal. 3, 13; 4, 4.—Why is it impossible for us to fulfil the Commandments fully? Because by the fall of Adam and Eve our nature is depraved, Rom. 8, 3; Gen. 8, 21.—Will the Christian never again become able to keep them? Yes, in a threefold manner: by faith, by the Holy Spirit, and in the eternal life.—How by faith? If in true faith we accept all the merits of Christ, 1 Cor. 1, 30; Rom. 3, 24.—How does it become possible by the Holy Spirit? If we, even during this life, through the strength of the Holy Ghost begin, to fulfil the Law, as much as our weakness permits, and then gladly and joyfully continue in a God-fearing life and persevere to the end, Rom. 8, 22; 1 John 5, 3.—How in the eternal life? There we shall be perfect in body and soul and are able to fulfil the will of God entirely, Ps. 17, 15; Rev. 21, 26; 1 Cor. 13, 12; Sap. 15.—Of what use are the Ten Commandments if we cannot keep them fully? They are useful in three ways: they teach us to know our sins, they warn against sins, and they serve as a rule for our life.—How do they help us to know our sins? They show our depraved, unclean nature and our manifold faults and sins as in a clear mirror, Rom. 3, 20; 7, 7.—What is sin? All that is not right and contrary to God's commandment, 1 John 3, 4, 5, 17.—How manifold is sin? It is twofold: original sin and actual sin, Ps. 51, 6, 7.—What is original sin? The inexpressibly great corruption of human nature, in intellect, will, and faculties, Eph. 2, 3; Rom. 7, 15, 20; 1 Cor. 2, 14.—Why do we call it original or inherited sin? Because by our physical descent from Adam and Eve, we have inherited it, Rom. 5, 12.19.—Did God create Adam and Eve as sinners? No, He created them in His image, but by their disobedience and the devil's envy, sin and death came into this world, Wisdom, 2, 23; Gen. 1, 27; 3, 1.2.—Does original sin remain even in those that are regenerated and believe? Yes, but for Christ's sake it is not imputed to those who believe

in Him, Ps. 32, 2; Rom. 4, 7; 1 Cor. 6, 11; Rom. 8, 1.—What is actual sin? All evil and godless thoughts, words, and deeds that rise from original sin as from an evil root, Matt. 15, 19.—Why do we call them actual sins? Because we ourselves act or commit them in our life, Dan. 9, 5.—How do the Ten Commandments serve as a warning against sin? By threatening us with the terrible wrath of God and the punishment for our sins. Therefore we are justly on our guard against them, Ex. 20, 5; Ps. 5, 12.13.—What do we deserve for our sins? God's wrath and displeasure, temporal death and eternal condemnation, Deut. 27, 26; Gal. 3, 10; Is. 1, 15.—How do the Ten Commandments serve as a rule for our life? By showing us what good works we should do according to God's Commandments and how we are to lead a God-fearing life, Ps. 119, 9; Ez. 10, 19.—What are good works? Everything that a believing Christian according to the Ten Commandments thinks, speaks, and acts, in order to serve God and his neighbor, Matt. 7, 12; 5, 16.—Is it possible for man by his good works to earn salvation and forgiveness of sins? No, because our works are imperfect, Eph. 2, 8; Luke 17, 1.—Why is it then necessary to do good works? In order to honor God and His Word, to show our faith, and to serve our neighbor, Eph. 2, 10; Matt. 7, 16; Gal. 5, 6; 1 John 3, 18; Rom. 12, 20.—Of what does the First Commandment treat? Of true heart-felt worship and the avoidance of all idolatry, Ex. 20, 2.3.—In what does true worship consist and what is commanded thereby? That we fear, love, and trust in God above all things.—Why are we to fear Him? Because He is just and punishes the wicked according to their works, Ps. 7, 12-14.—Why are we to love Him? Because He is gracious and merciful and gives us nothing but what is good, Ps. 103, 8; Acts 14, 17.—Why are we to trust in Him? Because He is almighty, true, and faithful and surely keeps what He promises in His Word, Ps. 33, 4; Num. 24, 19.—What is forbidden in the First Commandment? That we have other or strange gods beside God.—What are other or strange gods? Human beings or all that which we fear, love, and trust in such a measure that we for its sake act against God's honor and commandment, Is. 42, 9; 1 Sam. 2, 29; Gal. 4, 8.—Are we not to fear, love, and honor the government, our parents, and superiors? Yes, we are to fear, love, and honor them, as it is demanded by the Fourth Commandment.—Does that not mean to sin against the First Commandment? No; we fear, love, and honor God above all things; the government, our parents, and superiors, however, for the sake of God's commandment and therefore, in order to

honor God, because they do not command anything that is contrary to God's commandment.—Did you fear God above all things? No; if I had feared God above all things, I would never have done any wrong.—Did you love God above all things? No; if I had loved God above all things, I never would have sinned by vain rejoicing over and idle loving of any creature.—Did you trust in God above all things? No; if I had trusted in God above all things, I never would have been faint-hearted and despondent over mere temporal matters.

**From the Questions of Laurentius Laelius for Brandenburg-Ansbach,** published before 1634; I use the edition of 1665. *The First Article.* . . I. What *doctrines* does this Article contain: 1. He alone is the true God who created heaven and earth, and who is, and is called, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 2. The distinction of persons does not annul the unity of essence, nor does the unity of essence annul the distinction of persons. 3. God is almighty and is able to do whatever He chooses or promises to do, in heaven and on earth. 4. God's word is action and reality; to say a word is, therefore, just as much as putting the thing in reality, before our eyes; He speaks and it is done. 5. God is not restrained by the course of nature, but He rules and conserves all according to His free will, because He is almighty. 6. God does not forsake His creation but conserves it and governs all that is and moves everywhere. 7. God created all to His praise and honor and for the benefit of man. 8. No creature can do us good or evil without God's will and determination. 9. The universe is not eternal, but it had its beginning in time and will not last forever. 10. Sin does not have its origin in God, for it disgraces and utterly degrades His works and creations, all of which are good. 11. All true Christians have one faith and confidence, and no one has a better title to God's promises and grace than any one else, as if only those could be assured of the blessings of God who, in their own person, enjoyed a special revelation while all others would be in doubt. Because here everyone is bound to say and confess, "I believe in God the Father." The meanest as well as the greatest, he may be called Peter or Paul, has to believe these words and confess them for himself. So it is in the Second and Third Article. For what is called "faith" by the Apostle Peter is alike in all pious Christians. 12. Every one must have personal faith in God; therefore we say "I believe." 13. In matters of faith simplicity does not discredit anyone with God, because it is no great art or wisdom that decides

here, but faith in the Word. 14. God is not to be blamed for the condemnation of anyone, for He is the Father of Light. 15. Our earthly calling is from God who gave us body and soul. II. What *admonitions* does the First Article contain? 1. That we ought to put all our confidence alone in God and trust in His goodness, for He is our Father and the care for our life is commended to Him, Matt. 6; Job 14, 5.6. We should fear Him, because He is just and punishes the wicked. We should love Him, because He is good and merciful and gave us and still gives us what is good; all that is good we have from Him, according to the explanation of the First Commandment. 2. We should faithfully discharge the duties of the calling into which God has placed us and diligently do our work. 3. We should observe God's word and command, humble ourselves before Him, and obey His will. 4. We should conduct ourselves towards each other as brethren with friendliness and all confidence and follow after peace and concord.—III. What *warnings* does the First Article contain? 1. That we put our faith and confidence in no creature nor trust in ourselves. 2. That we should not presumptuously measure and judge God's word and command, His work or His omnipotence, according to our own reason. 3. That we shun doubts whenever we have God's word and promise, because doubt undermines the foundation of faith. 4. That we are on our guard against caring for our belly and against avarice; that we do not prescribe to God our Lord when and how He should feed us and care for us, because the Lord hears our prayers at the acceptable time. 5. That we neither become haughty through our success nor despondent through our misfortune. That we neither be proud on account of our high station in life nor ashamed on account of its meanness and lowliness, because we all are equally children of God if we believe in the name of the Son of God. 6. That we avoid all unfaithfulness and contempt against our neighbor and fellow Christian.—IV. What *comfort* does the First Article contain? It dispels all sinful care for our belly and all anxiety in famine, poverty, and misery, because God is ready to care for us as a father and has provided for man's needs before he was created or born.—2. It strengthens us in every need and danger brought about by our enemies, because God is ready to do us good and assist us if we only trust in Him. 3. It shields us against the tyranny of the devil and his infernal kingdom, because if God is for us, nothing can be against us. He will not leave us helpless and like forsaken orphans, because He is our Father. 4. It protects us from doubt in God's grace and from the fear of condemnation, because, being our

Father, God rejoices that He can do us good in body and soul; He delights in giving life and not condemnation.

**From Justus Gesenius' Short Questions on Luther's Small Catechism, 1639.** The book contains two sets of questions. While the second consists of questions on the Five Chief Parts of the Catechism for advanced children, the first one contains "a few simple questions on the simple Catechism for the most simple ones." This first set is here given in translation.

1. *Knowledge of oneself.* For which purpose and for what reason did God create man in the beginning and put him into this world? What was God's intention in making such a creature as man, and in giving him the earth as a dwelling place? Why and for what purpose does man live in this world? That man should know God, his Creator, and honor and serve Him.—Can man serve God, his creator, exactly as He demands in His Commandments? Can man live perfectly according to God's will and without fault? As long as he had the image of God he could fulfil God's will in a perfect manner.—Was man originally created in God's image? Yes. God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him. In what did God's image in man consist, as far as the soul is concerned? It consisted first in this that man by nature knew God and His being, works, and will completely and perfectly, without any fault or error; second, that he could serve and obey God according to His will, in perfect righteousness and holiness, without any sin. We speak, therefore, of his state of innocence. —In what did God's image in man consist, as far as the body is concerned: It consisted in freedom from death and sickness and frailty, so that man in the state of innocence could have had eternal life without suffering death.—Is this image of God now lost? Yes.—By what did man lose this divine image? By the disobedience of the first man, for he ate from the tree of which God had commanded, "thou shalt not eat . . . surely die."—Have all descendants of Adam by his disobedience lost God's image? Yes, Rom. 5,12.—Then all men are by nature and from birth under sin and condemnation? Yes, Rom. 3, 23; 5, 18; Eph. 2, 3.—Are you then also a sinner by nature and on account of your birth? Are you also conceived and born in sin? Yes, I was shapen in iniquity and in sin did my mother conceive me.—Did you who were conceived and born in sin, actually sin? Yes.—How do you know this? From the Ten Commandments; I have sinned against them by thought, word, and deed and I have omitted what they command.—What did you deserve for these sins? What would you have to

expect if God acted toward you according to law? God's wrath and disfavor, death in this life and condemnation in the life to come.

2. *Of man's redemption.* This is, indeed, a great misfortune and a terrible punishment. Is there no comfort? Do you know of no help against it? Yes, I know that my Redeemer liveth.—I must repeat my question. Who will avert this great misfortune? Who will protect you from God's wrath and eternal condemnation? My dear Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ.—Who is your Redeemer? Who has redeemed you? Jesus Christ.—Who is Jesus Christ? Is He an angel or a man or even God Himself? He is God's Son, true God, born of the Father from eternity, and also true man born of the Virgin Mary.—Are there, then, many gods? No; we all believe in one God, one in His essence, but threefold in person, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.—How many persons are there in the divine being? Three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.—Which one of these three has redeemed you? Which person has accomplished the work of Redemption? Which person in the Holy Trinity died for you? Did the first, or the second, or the third person, the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost die for you? The second person, the Son of God.—What do we call the second person, the Son of God? By what other name is He called? Jesus Christ.—Did not God the Father or the Holy Ghost die for you? The first and the third person, did they not suffer? No, the Father is only God, and so is the Holy Ghost. Therefore neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost could die. But Jesus Christ is not only true God, but also true man; he shed His blood for me.—From what did Christ redeem you? From all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil.—How? You are redeemed from all sins, do you then have no sins any more? If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.—How, then, is this to be understood that Christ redeemed you from sin; that He has freed you from sin? He has freed me 1. from the punishment of sin, by taking it upon Himself; 2. from the dominion of sin so that I do not need to be a slave of sin and do not have to obey it in its lusts, but by His Spirit and by grace can rule over it.

3. *Of the application of such Redemption.* Is such redemption applied to all men? Do all men become free from sin, death, and the power of the devil? No; indeed, they all might, by the grace of God, become free, but not all are ready in accord with God's order and will, to repent, believe, and live a godly life.—Who can rejoice in such redemption? Or, who will become free through Christ from the wrath

of God and the dominion of sin? He who repents, believes the Gospel, and is zealous to bring forth good fruits of repentance, takes upon him the yoke of Christ and learns from Him.—Are you assured that such precious redemption by Christ also belongs to you? that you are free from sin, death, and hell? Yes, if I heartily believe the Gospel, repent, and am zealous in bringing forth the good fruits of repentance, if I take Christ's yoke upon me, learn of him, and daily exercise myself in following Him.—You say, he who repents has part in Christ's redemption and reconciliation; but in what does true repentance consist? It consists, first, in sorrow, contrition, and heartfelt grief for sin; second, in true faith and confidence, and (in and with such faith) the humble, childlike prayer that God might forgive all our sins for Christ's sake; third, the firm decision and resolution to omit what is evil and to do what is good and not to become weary in the battle against sin.—Do you repent and are you sorry that you have sinned? Yes, I repent and am very sorry.—Why are you sorry? Why do you repent? 1. Because I have sinned against the just and holy God, my Lord, who hates and punishes sin; 2. because I also have sinned against the most gracious God who has blessed me with more good than I can tell; 3. because I have sinned so much and in so many and even shameful ways.—Are you by faith assured of the forgiveness of your sins? Yes, for Scripture says: My little children, sin not; and if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.—With what did Christ redeem you? Not with gold or silver, but with His holy precious blood and with His innocent sufferings and death.—For what purpose did Christ buy you at such a high cost? What did He intend to accomplish thereby? First, that I should be His own and live under Him in His kingdom and serve Him; second, that I should finally be with Him and eternally live with Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness.—Can you with your own power and strength believe in Christ, serve, and obey Him? No; it is God who by His Spirit worketh both to will and to do of His good pleasure; Him I must ask and call upon His name.—Where, for the first time did you promise to be Christ's own, to live under Him and to serve Him in His kingdom? In holy Baptism.—Whom did you renounce in Baptism? Whom did you disavow? The devil, and all his works, and all his ways.—What, on the other hand, did you promise God? Can you tell me in a few words what you promised in Baptism? That I keep faith and a good conscience.—What do you believe, and what are you ready to believe till your end?

What I confess in the three Articles of the Christian Creed.—Recite the First. ., the Second. ., the Third Article. . —Are you willing to hold fast to this Creed and Confession in life and death? Yes, with the help of God.—Are you also ready to keep a good conscience? Where do we learn in our Catechism, how we may and should keep a good conscience? In the Ten Commandments. Because after having acquired forgiveness of sin through faith in Christ, we are bound to live in accordance with the Ten Commandments and to shun all vices and wickedness; thus we have in Christ Jesus a good conscience. —Tell me once more in a few words: Who has and keeps a good conscience? He who by faith in Christ Jesus is zealous to live according to the Ten Commandments and shuns all vices and wickedness, he has and keeps a good conscience in Christ Jesus.—This has been your promise in holy Baptism, and this you have to keep. But, on the other hand, what did God promise you? What has your Lord and God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Baptism promised you? That He will be my Father and that I shall be His child.—What benefit does it bring you that God is your Father? What does it help you that you are His child? What boon is such sonship? 1. Because I am God's child He has ceased to be angry, He is my gracious Father, loves me and like a father cares for me; 2. In all my wants and needs I am permitted to call upon Him, and He is ready to give me all I ask according to His will; 3. He gives into my heart a child-like spirit that teaches me by His word, strengthens me, and moves me to all that is good; 4. Being His child He will give me the eternal inheritance in heaven, for which He tells me to hope and to wait.

**From the Short Summary of the Christian Doctrine** (*Kurzer Begriff der Christlichen Lehr*), **by Solomon Glassius,** for those who know the words of the Catechism, but are not well grounded in its meaning, **1642.**—*VI. Of the Lord's Supper.* What do you receive in the holy Supper? The true body and the true blood of Christ.—With and under what do you receive Christ's body? Under the consecrated bread.—With and under what do you receive Christ's blood? Under the consecrated wine in the cup.—Why are you sure and certain that you receive Christ's body under the consecrated bread? Because Jesus Christ in the words of institution says clearly: Take and eat, this is my body given for you.—Why are you sure that you receive Christ's blood under the consecrated wine? Because the Lord Christ says: Take and drink . . . for the remission of sin.—What benefit do you receive from the Lord's Supper? First, that my faith in the

forgiveness of sin is thereby strengthened; second, that I learn to love God and my neighbor and to amend my life.—How do you go worthily to the Lord's Supper that you may participate in all its blessings? If I heartily acknowledge and repent my sin and heartily console myself by faith in Christ Jesus, that He has given His body unto death for me and has shed His blood for me, and that I receive forgiveness of all my sins as certainly as I eat His body and drink His blood.—How are you to give thanks to God for these great benefits? I am to give Him praise and thanks from a believing heart, not in words alone but I must also honor Him by a Christian and Godfearing life and by faithfulness and diligence in my office and calling.—Can a Christian do all this without being hindered? No, because the devil, the world, and his own flesh are trying to hinder him and to seduce him into unbelief, despair, sin and vice. But he battles like a good soldier against such temptations and does not consent to them, still less does he succumb, but constantly remains in faith and godly living, and when he sins he immediately seeks the gracious forgiveness for his sins with a repenting heart.—How do such believers and fighting Christians usually fare in this world? God not only sends them every manner of cross and misery, as sickness, persecution and the like, but He also permits them to fall into spiritual temptation and to experience manifold internal fears, terrors, and anguish.—What is the right Christian attitude in such afflictions? They are to console themselves with God's Word that the affliction is sent to them by God's fatherly love and that it will work together for their good and for their salvation; they are diligently to pray for patience and comfort, and with assurance to hope for mitigation and alleviation and removal of the cross in due time.—When is a faithful Christian completely redeemed from every cross and temptation? When God grants him a blessed end and graciously takes him from this vale of sorrow to Himself in heaven.—How is he to prepare himself in a Christian manner for his last hour? By faith he must take hold of Jesus Christ, he must rely on His gracious help in every temptation, he must sincerely forgive all his enemies, wholeheartedly surrender to God's will, in earnest prayer commend his soul into God's faithful hands, and willingly and gladly go to Him by a blessed death.—What happens to such faithful Christians after a blessed death? As to their soul they will be with God immediately after death, after the resurrection they will be with Him both in body and soul alike, see Him face to face, and experience with all the holy angels heavenly joy and eternal salvation, without any sorrow.—What

happens to the wicked after death? As to their souls immediately after death, and on the last day with soul and body, they will be plunged into condemnation in hell where they, together with all the devils, will suffer in body and soul unspeakable pain and torture without end.

**From Michael Walther's Catechism of 1651.** *The Creed.* To which part (of the divine truth) does the Creed belong? To the holy Gospel, Rom. 10, 17.—What is the Gospel? It is the second part of the divine Word, and a good, joyful message from Jesus Christ, the Savior of all men, viz., that out of grace God will forgive their sins to all that believe in Him, and solely for His sake will grant them life eternal.—What is faith? True heartfelt knowledge of God and child-like confidence in His grace and in the merit of Jesus Christ, Heb. 11, 1.—In whom do you thus believe? Alone in the true, living God, Jer. 17, 7.—What is God according to His nature? God is a Spirit, and one God and Lord alone, John 4, 24; Deut. 6, 4.—How many persons are there in the one divine Being? Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Matt. 28, 19.—How do we divide the Creed? Into three chief articles.—Of what does the *First Article* treat? Of creation—What do we read in the Catechism? I believe in God the Father, the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth.—Why do you say, "I believe"? Because in order to be saved, I for myself and my person, as well as each Christian for himself, must have my own faith, not that of another. Heb. 11, 6. Hab. 2, 4.—Why do you say, "I believe in God"? Because I put all my confidence, consolation, hope, and trust in God, the Highest God, and I am therefore already saved by hope, Rom. 8, 24; Ps. 2, 12.—Why do you do this? Because God is a Father, and Almighty, and the Creator of heaven and earth.—Who, in particular, is God the Father? He is the first person of the Deity, who is uncreated, who has begotten His Son from eternity, and who has revealed Himself especially by the work of creation, Ps. 2, 7; 104, 1.—Why is God called the Almighty? Because by creating the world He has demonstrated that nothing is impossible to Him.—Why do you call Him the Creator of heaven and earth? Because He has brought forth these two great divisions together with all creatures that are in, on, and outside of them, Gen. 1, 1.—How can we divide Luther's explanation? Into three parts.—What does the first part teach us? It teaches me what great blessings my dear God and Creator has daily bestowed upon me. For I believe *first,* that God has created me and all that exists, that He has given me body and soul eyes and ears, and all my members, reason and all my senses. *Second,* that He still preserves them for me. *Third,* that He further

gives me clothing and shoes, meat and drink, house and home, wife and child, land, cattle, and all my goods, and thereby richly and daily provides me with all that I need for this body and life. *Fourth,* that He protects me against all danger, and guards and keeps me from all evil, John 10, 8-12; Acts 17, 28; 1 Tim. 6, 17; Ps. 121, 7-8.—What does the second part of Luther's explanation teach? It speaks of the motives that move God to do all this. He does it purely out of fatherly and divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me, Gen. 32, 10.—What does the third part tell? How I am in duty bound with heart, mouth, and deed to thank my dear God and Creator: for all which I am in duty bound to thank and praise, to serve and obey Him, Ps. 116, 12-14. How do you conclude this article? This is most certainly true.—What do you attest by this? That I hold all this with a firm, sincere mind as sure divine truth and that, until my death, I will abide therein immovably and without doubt, Heb. 13, 9.

Of what does the *Second Article* treat? Of the redemption of the human race.—Who is your Redeemer? Jesus Christ.—What is the meaning of the word "Jesus"? It means Savior, Matth. 1, 21.—What does the word "Christ" signify? It signifies the Messiah whom God, according to his human nature, has anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power as our Prophet, High Priest, and King, Acts 10, 38.—Rehearse the words concerning our redemption! And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, etc.—Who is the Son of God? He is the second person of the Deity, begotten of the Father from eternity, who, in the fulness of time, became man, for our salvation.—Why do you call Him "Lord"? Not alone because according to His divine nature He is Lord, from eternity, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, but also, because in the fullness of time according to His human nature He has become our Lord and Master, Is. 6, 3; John 12, 41; Ps. 8, 10; Acts 2, 36.—Why do you say "our Lord"? Because all that He can do, all He determines, has, does, and suffers, takes place for our sake, Jer. 23, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 30.—How many natures are there in Christ? Two, the divine and the human.—In what words does the Second Article teach us that Jesus Christ is true God? In these words: "His only Son."—In what words does it teach that He is true man? In these words: "Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," Jer. 31, 22; Luke 1, 35; Is. 7, 14; Luke 2, 7.—What more do you believe concerning Him? That He has suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified. . ascended into heaven, Acts 4, 27-28; Luke 23, 33; Is. 53, 8-9; Eph. 4, 8-9; Ps. 16, 11; 1 Cor. 15, 5; Acts 1, 9-11.—Why did He suffer so

much? In order to redeem all men from the guilt and penalty of all sins, and especially from eternal punishment, Is. 53, 4-5.—In and according to which nature did He shed His blood, and suffer crucifixion and death? In and according to His human nature, for according to the divine He cannot suffer nor die. Nevertheless all this has been suffered by the whole person of the God man, for Christ suffered for us in the flesh, and God purchased us with His own blood, 1 Peter 4, 1; Acts 20, 28; 1 Cor. 2, 8; Acts 3, 15.—What followed Christ's ascension into heaven? That He is now sitting on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, Ps. 110, 1; Mark 16, 19.—What is the right hand of God? Nothing else but the eternal and infinite power, majesty, and glory of the Most High, whereby He accomplishes, creates, rules, and fulfills all things, Matth. 26, 64; Hebr. 1, 3.—What is meant by "sitting on the right hand of God"? It means, to be omnipresent and rule over all creatures through the almighty power of God, 1 Cor. 15, 25.—Is Christ coming again from heaven? Yes, He will come again to judge the quick and the dead, Matth. 25, 31 f.—Who are "the quick" that He is going to judge? Those that at the last day are still alive on the earth, 1 Cor. 15, 51. 52.—Who are "the dead"? All those that died before the last day, Rev. 20, 12.—How can Luther's explanation be divided? Into three parts, all of which speak of the redemption wrought by Jesus Christ.—Of what does the first part speak? Of the person of our Redeemer.—What do you believe concerning it? I believe that Jesus Christ, true God . . born of the Virgin Mary, John 1, 1-4. 14. 18; Luke 27.—Of what does the second part speak? Of the whole mediatorship of Christ evidenced in the work of redemption.—What do you believe concerning this mediatorship? I believe that He is my Lord who redeemed me, John 20, 28; Is. 63, 4.—What were you before? A lost and condemned creature, Luke 19, 10.—Did Christ redeem no one else but you? No, He is the Savior of all men, 1 Tim. 4, 10.—Why do you say, that He has redeemed you? Because by faith I appropriate His universal redemption, and console myself therewith, Gal. 2, 20.—Has, then, the Lord thereby conferred on you the greatest benefit? Yes, indeed, this is the greatest benefit that He has redeemed me from the bondage of hell, bought me by His great pains and labor and bloody sweat, and has won me from the deepest misery, from which no creature to all eternity could have rescued me, Zech. 8, 11; Is. 43, 24; Luke 22, 44; Ps. 130, 1. 4.—From what did He redeem you? From all sins, from death, namely eternal death, and from the power of the devil, Ps. 130, 8; John 1, 29; 5, 24; Is. 49, 25; Luke 11, 21-22; Heb. 2, 15-16.—With what has He redeemed you?

Not with gold or silver . . . sufferings and death, 1 Pet. 1, 18-19; Rev. 4, 9.—Of what does the third part speak? Of the final purpose of the redemption.—What is this final purpose? First, that I might be His own with all the faculties of my soul and all the members of my body; second, that I live under Him in His kingdom, here in the kingdom of grace by faith and hereafter in the kingdom of glory by the beatific contemplation of Him; third, that I serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness, by a holy life and conversation here and in eternity, Tit. 2, 14; 1 Cor. 6, 20; Acts 15, 11; John 17, 24; Luc. 1, 74. 75.—Did He not set you a good example? Yes, therefore I say: Even as He is risen from the dead, and lives and reigns to all eternity, Rom. 6, 4.—How do you close? This is most certainly true.—Why do you add this? Because not only with my heart do I firmly put my trust in His redemption, but also with my mouth I confess that I am in duty bound thus to serve Him.

**From Spener's Catechism of 1677.** Spener's Catechism consists of 1283 questions and answers covering 863 pages in 12°; it is more voluminous than all the catechisms of the period of Orthodoxy. We have to confine ourselves to the reproduction of some of its questions. *The Second Chief Part,* 413. What does the Second Chief Part treat of? 414. Why do we call it the Apostolic Creed? 415. Does the Creed save us? (The creed, i. e., confession of faith, as it is printed in the Catechism is the pure saving doctrine. But if we really desire to be saved, then faith must be wrought by the creed that is to be believed for only that faith saves us which holds fast to these articles of the creed in our heart). 416. What is the true saving faith? 417. Do we possess such faith by nature? 418. Can we acquire it by our own strength? 419. How does the Holy Ghost create such faith in us? 420. What constitutes faith? (Three elements: knowledge, assent, and trust). 421. What kind of knowledge is it? (Not a mere knowledge of those Scripture truths that may be learned through human diligence and understood by human reason, but it is a living knowledge with which the Holy Ghost enlightens those souls who hear God's Word and do not resist its power so that they, in great simplicity, yet in a divine manner, recognize and understand from Scripture the truth of those divine things which are necessary to their salvation). 422. What kind of assent is it? 423. What kind of trust is it? 424. Are these three, knowledge, assent, and trust, perfect? 425. Are they equal in all believers? 426. Is weak faith nevertheless true and saving faith? 427. Can a man possess this saving faith if he does not know the articles of faith nor

cares to learn them? 428. Can he possess it who serves sin and does not strive earnestly after piety? 429. Are there such who know the Scriptures and are able to discuss them, who give their assent to God's Word and the articles of faith, and confide in Christ and, yet, serve sin? 430. Is that true faith? 431. What is historical or dead faith? 432. Can such dead faith save? 433. Does not faith alone justify, or are good works necessary to make us just? 434. By what can we recognize true, living, divine, saving faith, so as to distinguish it from purely imaginary faith, from the faith that is confessed merely by the mouth and has only the appearance of faith? (The answer together with Scripture passages covers six pages!) 435. Must faith needs have all these signs? 436. Can true faith be lost again? 437. What follows from this doctrine? 438. What is a trustworthy touchstone to examine my faith? 439. Why are my emotions not always a trustworthy criterion? 440. Is it possible that a man cannot depend on his emotions? 441. Is it possible that faith still dwells in such a man? 442. In whom do we believe? 443. What is God? 444. What tells us that there is a God and what He is? 445. How do we have to consider what we believe and confess about God? 446. What does this mean, God is a spirit? 447. Does not God have corporeal members since Scripture speaks of His eyes, ears, face, hands, and the like? 448. What comfort is this for me? 449. How does it serve to the edification of my life? 450. What is meant by "God is eternal"? 451. What comfort does this give me? 452. How does it serve to the edification of my life? 453. What is meant by "God is almighty"? 454. What comfort is this for me? 455. How does it help me in the exercise of godliness? [In like manner God's other attributes are treated in questions 456-470, pages 322-340.] 471. How many gods are there? 472. How do we prove that there is only one God? 473. What follows from the unity of God? 474. What else belongs to the unity of God? 475. Who is the one true God? 476. You name three; are there three gods? 477. How do we prove that there are three persons and one God? 478. Prove that there are three persons. 479. Where especially did these three persons reveal themselves? 480. Was the mystery of the Trinity revealed already in the Old Testament? 481. Can we by our reason conceive this mystery? 482. Do we have no analogy in nature? 483. Is this analogy really equal to this mystery? 484. How do we distinguish these three persons? 485. Of what does the First Article treat? 489. Of whom does the First Article treat? 490. Why do we call Him Father? 491. Is He only the Son's Father? 492. From whom

does the Father have His being? 493. Why do we call Him Almighty? 494. By what deed did the Father reveal Himself to us? 495. Are we created by the Father alone? 496. When speaking of the Creation does Scripture not mention also the Son and the Holy Ghost? 497. What does the term "create" mean? 498. What did God create? 499. When did God create all? 500. What did He create on each day? 501. Did God create only that which was brought forth in the beginning? 502. Why did God create all? 503. How do we classify the things He created? 504. What is the most significant part of His creation? 505. What are the angels? 506. Does the Old Testament speak only of created angels that appeared to men? 507. In whom do the angels have their origin? 503. What are the angels according to their nature? 509. How many angels are there? 510. What are the offices of the angels? 511. Who may expect help of the angels? 512. What ought to be our attitude towards the angels? 513. What comfort can we derive from the angels? 514. Are all angels of this kind? 515. What are evil angels? 516. What do you know about their origin? 517. How many devils are there? 518. What is their attitude towards God and man? 519. What ought to be our attitude towards them? 520. Who is the most significant among the visible things which God created? 521. Did God create man? 522. When? 523. To what end? 524. What did God's image in man consist in? 525. Do we still possess this image? 526. What do we have in its stead? 527. What follows from this loss of God's image? 528. Is there no remnant of this image? 529. Shall we ever recover the image? 530. What is God doing ever since He completed His creation? 531. What is God's part in the preservation of man? 532. What else is part of the work of preservation? 534. By what did we deserve it that God blesses us so richly and still preserves us? 535. What, however, do we owe God? 536. What elements of comfort do we find in God's creation, preservation, and government? 537. How are creation and preservation to urge us to godliness? 538. How do we sin against the First Article? 539. How can I know whether I truly believe this First Article?

**Pontoppidan's Catechism.** The Epitome of Pontoppidan's Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism is to be had in a good English translation by E. Belfour (55th Thousand, Chicago, John Anderson Publishing Co., 1924).

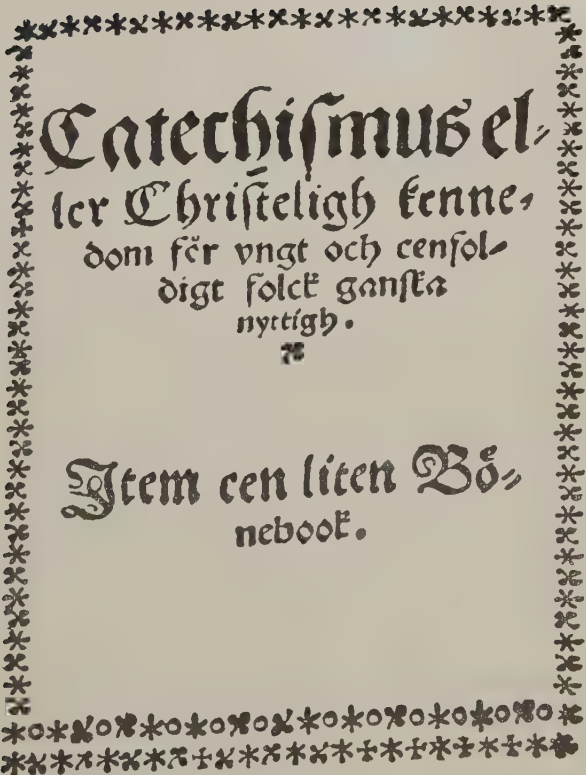
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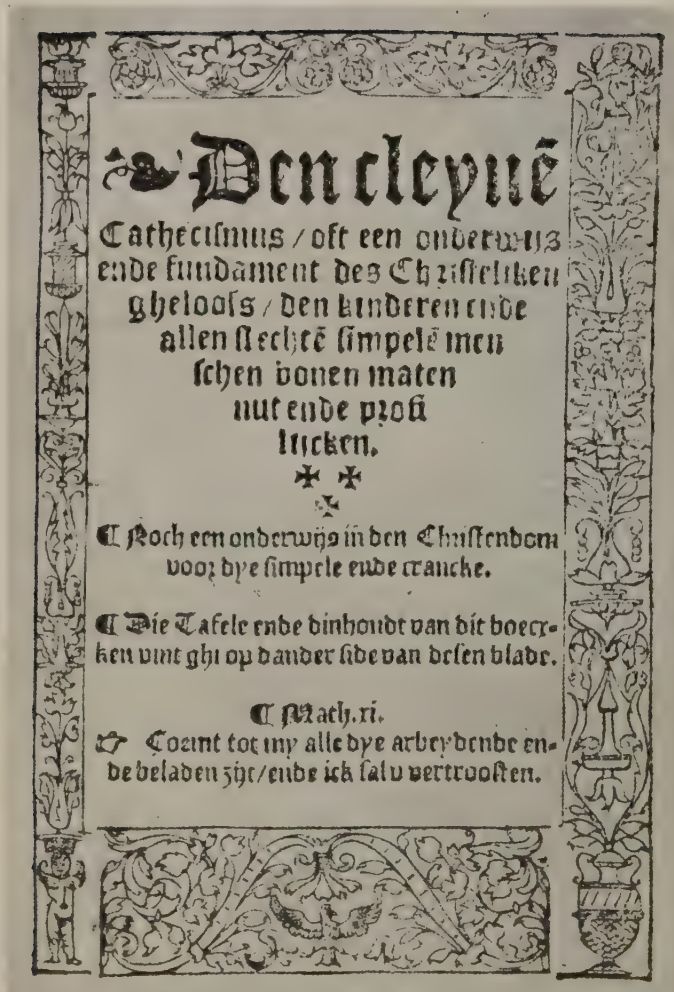
PLATE TEN: Title page of the oldest Swedish translation, 1544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Catechismus / oft een onderwijs
ende fundament des Christelicken
gheloofs / den kinderen ende
allen slechtē simpelē men
schen boven maten
nut ende profijtelicken.
✠ ✠
Noch een onderwijs in den Christendom
voor dye simpele ende cranche.
Die Tafele ende inhoudt van dit boeck-
ken vint ghi op d'ander side van desen blade.
Mach. xi.
Coemt tot my alle dye arbeydende en-
de beladen zijt / ende ick sal u vertroosten.

PLATE ELEVEN: Title page of a Dutch translation, 1545-1560

# 10. Luther's Catechism During the Period of Rationalism

SUBJECTIVISM, which more and more gained ground among the disciples of Spener, prepared the soil for the rise and supremacy of the Wolffian School (Christ. Wolff 1670-1754). This school applied to theology the mathematical syllogistic method which "explains clearly, proves thoroughly, and always connects each truth with the rest." Wolff did this with the best of intentions; he thought that by his method he could prove that the doctrine of the Church was in accord with sound reason and common sense and so check the Deism which was spreading from England and France to Germany. By this method, however, reason was placed as judge over revelation and thus the way was opened to that Rationalism which finally knew no other source of knowledge, than reason, and whose morality was throughout determined by the question of utility. At first in the field of catechetics the doctrine of the Church was transmitted faithfully, but it was thought possible to discover and demonstrate its vital significance through the analyzing method, though it was not even possible to educate reason in this way, still less to create a lasting impression upon the will. S. J. Baumgarten was probably the first who applied Wolff's methods to the instruction in the Catechism; he resolved the doctrines of the Catechism into their component parts and through this anatomical dissection desired to reveal the secret of the life pulsating within the Catechism. His *Erlaeuterung des Kleinen Katechismi D. M. Luthers* did not appear before 1749, but rests upon a lecture of 1734. He is well aware of the new

and unusual elements of his method of analyzing and explaining the Catechism "in tables" (see the preface), but neither his "short instruction of the method of catechising"—added as appendix (pp. 545-563)—nor his explanation itself creates the impression that anything vital is involved.

We quote a part of the explanation of the 3. Article: *I. The explanation of the text.* The same consists of three parts: 1. The first part contains a confession of the person of the H. Ghost in one sentence: I believe in the H. Ghost. a) This sentence has to be connected with the first sentence of the whole Creed, so that the result is four separate sentences which are based upon this connection and read thus: α) that the Holy Ghost is a person really different from the Father and the Son (who were confessed before), for which reason He finds special expression in the Creed; β) that He is God just as well as the before mentioned persons, because we confess our faith in Him just as well as in the others, and therefore the relation to Him is of the same character as that to the first two persons; γ) that He with the Father and the Son constitutes the only One True God, for the beginning of the Creed states: I believe in One God who is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; δ) that this person is of great blessing to me and is of such nature that I may expect every needed good from Him and therefore may put my trust in Him. b) The contents or the explanation of this sentence. Here we must observe: α) the name and the quality of this person thereby indicated. It is (A) Ghost. The word Ghost is used of God in a double sense: aa) at times essentially, John 4:24, to indicate the simple indivisibility and the life or the power of God; bb) at times personally, like here, of a separate person of the divine being, Matt. 28:19, and this for two reasons: αα) on account of the inner eternal relation and activity whereon is based the difference of this third person from the other two. Which activity is described in Scripture by a physical picture as a breathing forth (*spiratio activa*) and a going forth (*spiratio passiva*). . . . ββ) partly on account of the effects pertaining to this person. . . . (B) The apposition "the Holy" is attributed to Him: aa) not for the sake of His essential attribute of holiness. . . . bb) but for the sake of the effects. . . . β) the relation of this person toward us human beings. . . . 2. The other part contains a confession of the foremost works of the Holy Ghost . . . (Church, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the body, eternal life; the analysis of these works fills more than 25 pages!) 3. The third part contains the conclusion of the whole

Article in the little word "Amen." . . . Then the explanation of Luther is analyzed and explained under II. Tables arranged according to such a method were of course of another kind than the previously mentioned Catechism-tables of Woltersdorff; they were more learned, but also much more impracticable and enable us to understand the complaint of Conrad Luft in Nuernberg that thereby Luther's rich text itself was pushed completely into the background. For which reason he published in 1779 a "short and yet complete, intelligible and yet thorough instruction" how Luther's Catechism should be treated with conviction and edification, which instruction well deserved its re-publication by Harless (Erlangen 1854).

Neither did Julius Hecker, when in 1763 he drew up the Prussian *General-Landschulreglement,* think of impairing the spiritual contents of the Catechism. Here we read: "After prayer a part of the Catechism which follows in order, is explained, and so briefly that every six weeks the Catechism is completed. This work is done thus: The part which is to be explained must be recited by several children until it is well known by most of them. Afterwards first the text and then the matter lying in the words is to be explained in questions and confirmed by passages from Holy Scripture. Finally the children are shown how to apply the truths they have heard, in their lives. With the smaller children the analyzed Catechism is employed for this purpose; with the larger ones, however, the explained Catechism is used by the preachers as well as by the school-masters. . . ." In the school-examination those children shall be presented to the visitor whose progress in the schools has made them eligible for preparation by the preacher for the Holy Supper, that he may admit them weekly to the catechizing in his parsonage, and instruct them thoroughly in Christianity, for which purpose we wish herewith to renew and confirm the wholesome regulations previously issued, particularly that no preacher shall venture to accept for confirmation, and still less for communion, children who are not from his congregations or are not able to read and who have not attained to a correct and

sufficient comprehension of the fundamental truths of the Evangelical religion" (Vormbaum III, 547 f., 553). Even Semler, from 1751 to 1791 an influential theological teacher in Halle, had no intention of removing the Creed. He says (1781) in his theological letters: "If I maintain learned opinions in my department, then such investigations concern the learned, and learned opinions can never overthrow the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, because the latter are very different from the former. A man is and remains a good Lutheran without being learned, and a learned Lutheran does not cease to be a Lutheran though he be ever so learned. However, I, as well as every scholar, am subject to the higher authorities; if they should feel that I did harm to the Lutheran Church and her proper rights and they were to order me to lecture on each book, Langen's economics and Church history, etc., and to keep to its contents in my lectures,—it would be my duty to do so or else to resign my professorship."

Notwithstanding it was a result just of Semler's emptying of the Lutheran and Biblical doctrines, of the evident favoring of Rationalism on the part of Frederick the Great, and of the pedagogical efforts of the Philanthropists, especially of Basedow, Salzmann, and Bahrdt, that, in religious instruction, the spiritual contents of the Catechism were more and more disregarded, that the "moral" was emphasized in a more and more onesided manner and that frequently at the end not much more remained than natural religion and natural morality. At the same time in the treatment of the doctrine of man, catechetes went into such minute details with reference to the powers of body and soul that the religious instruction was lowered to the level of physiological and psychological information.

Johann Bernhard Basedow (1723-1790) began with pedagogical principles like these: "Man is, by nature, good; God loves all, as Father of all. Children, by nature, love men, and shall be educated into philanthropists and world-citizens. The cultivation of the intel-

lect is the principal thing, for the way to the heart is through the head. Religiousness is, therefore, effected only through enlightening instruction, morality through intelligible moral teaching. In the knowledge of the All-Father and His adoration all the religious men of all nations meet. Therefore ecclesiastical belief has nothing in common with the instruction in schools. The pupil shall believe nothing, but shall discover all things for himself under the guidance of his tutor." In his book *Methodischer Unterricht der Jugend in der Religion und Sittenlehre der Vernunft,* of 1764, he applied his conclusions to religious instruction. Here he thought he had discovered the principal mistake of the previous methods of instruction in the desire to teach the child, as early as possible, prayers he does not understand; to teach him the Catechism and the reading of the Bible and to have him memorize this material in a mechanical manner. In its place he recommended a procedure in harmony with the development of the child: "One should proceed in the instruction according to the natural order of human knowledge by the following stages: a) To render the children conscious of the powers of their soul; b) clearly to show the difference between their soul and their body and thereby produce a surmising of the life after death; c) clearly to show them the freedom of their acts and omissions and the ability for a moral self-government that follows from such freedom; d) to show several easy indications of true, false, and dubious judgments so as to preserve the young souls from crude superstition; e) to picture to them the excellency of the orderly course of nature and the great measure of felicity in the parts of nature known to us, to infer from these concerning the unknown; f) to render the existence of a single wise God first probably, then morally certain; g) to derive from the idea of God and from the duty to think with reverence of Him the single attributes of God; h) to present the immortality of the soul and the divine judgment as practically certain; i) to build upon these truths a complete morality; k) afterward to have them suppose the existence of divine revelations, to show their possibility and utility together with the obligation of first inquiring and then believing; l) to offer the history and the contents of the Biblical revelations in a summary; m) then to prove that the Bible contains divine revelations and doctrines of divine messengers; n) to teach Jesus as the first among the divine messengers, as the greatest, most perfect, most virtuous, and most benevolent; o) finally to furnish the Christian doctrine from the teaching of Christ and the Apostles" (cf. Schian, *Sokratik,* p. 61 f.).

Chr. Gotth. Salzmann (1744-1811), too, was severe in his criticism

of the customary instruction. Once he even said: "In the school there was really no instruction, for the memorizing of the Catechism and of Scripture passages without any explanation can hardly be called religious instruction." Another time: "First prayers with which the children connect no ideas, then Scripture passages of which they understand nothing, then the Catechism with an explanation that is at least as obscure as the matter to be explained; all this they are forced to impress upon their memory with immoderate exertion and with the utmost reluctance on their part." In his positive recommendations he was more sober, practical, and childlike than Basedow; but he, too, knew nothing of sin or grace in the Biblical sense and despite his writing of the little book, "On the Redemption of Men from Misery through Jesus," the Second and Third Articles were to him an unknown domain. According to him narratives must be the foundation of the religious-moral instruction, but not the narration of Biblical stories, for the Scripture is outside the ken of the children and tells too little about children. Fables and legends, too, he does not recommend, but stories of children, by which religious-moral conceptions and ideas may be produced. Walks in the open air where one sees God in His works, illustrations representing scenes from history, and little songs of the kind we sing with the children seem important to him. Revelation, whose necessity and truth he wishes to have proved to the children, only appears in the second stage of his plan, however, and the miracles and prophecies are only to occupy a secondary place. The person above all others the children are to get acquainted with is Jesus Christ. They must be told, what He has brought to us, that they may learn to love Him and become ready to follow Him. In regard to the other Biblical persons description of character is likewise the main point. In the third stage one instructs through Socratic conversation, but this also must strive more for the exposition of clear conceptions and ideas as well as for the encouragement of a virtuous life than for the introduction into that which had been considered the centre of religion, or to explain that which separates the various confessions. Of Salzmann's many other writings, that *Ueber die wirksamsten Mittel, Kindern Religion beizubringen* (1780) deserves special mention.

C. F. Bahrdt (1741-1792), this frivolous and immoral man, arranged the religious instruction in the Philanthropine at Marschlins in Graubuenden according to his own report (*Philanthropischer Erziehungsplan*, p. 109 f.) in the following manner: "The little ones learned religion in sentences, adages, and fables, and the prayers and hymns used in

the services were explained to them. This class needs instruction for one year." In the second class the older pupils were instructed in the essentials of natural and revealed religion entirely according to the Socratic method. "The system we follow (he himself intended to publish an adequate textbook, but never did so) has completely and solely this aim to fill the hearts of the children with a pure love of God and of virtue arising out of their own affectionate conviction." A third class was formed of those whose parents desired them to be made especially acquainted with the distinctive doctrines of the Church in which they were born. Separate instruction was received by those who intended to partake of the Lord's Supper for the first time. How Bahrdt in his ideas could occasionally approach the doctrine of the Church, one learns, e. g., from the manner in which he employs 1 John 2:2 as a starting point for deduction (*Erziehungsplan,* p. 172 f.); on the other hand, it is evident that he considered the first two as most important of these three classes and that for him the contents of religious instruction was always chiefly limited to natural religion. In his *Katechismus der natuerlichen Religion als Grundlage eines jeden Unterrichts der Moral und Religion* (1790), he even occupied himself with rules of health and catechized on "discharges from the bowels and perspiration, emetics, and purgatives."

In the measure in which Rationalism, with its degradation of the Christian religion to a religion of the intellect (natural religion), coincided with the principles of education of the Philanthropists, in like measure it more and more lost its appreciation of Luther's Catechism and sought other materials for instruction. G. F. Seiler in his catechism (Bayreuth 1779) still offers Luther's Catechism and explains it briefly through analyzing questions, but prefaces it with: 1. Religion in pithy phrases; 2. First historical religious instruction which is to take the place of an introduction into Christianity; 3. Order of salvation or first elements of the doctrines of the Christian faith; 4. Main content of Christian morality in Biblical passages, and this is followed by 1. First elements of Biblical History and 2. the little system of Christian faith and morality, which latter is an independent work, but also employs Luther's Catechism. As to contents we find no important abridgment of Biblical truth. In his *Unterredungen*

*eines Vaters mit seinem Sohn ueber die ersten Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion oder die Religion der Unmuendigen* (1772) Seiler briefly expresses his sentiments concerning the principles for the instruction of beginners and illustrates in conversations how he has endeavored to "render everything visible and tangible." Here, too, Biblical truth gets its due. The *Hannoversche Katechismus,* however, of 1790 only places the text of the Catechism, without Luther's explanation, at the head, but otherwise follows its own scheme: 1. Of God and Scripture; 2. Of creation and providence; 3. Of man in his original and sinful condition; 4. Of the redemption of mankind; 5. Of the sanctification of man; 6. Of the future condition of man and the world; 7. Of the duties and the virtues of a Christian; 8. Of the Sacraments. Redemption through Christ's death and resurrection is not denied, but is not given its rightful place; the part on the duties occupies more than half of the book, lowers everything else to an inferior position; in the introductory questions and answers it rises to the heights of Evangelical ethics ("When does a virtue become a Christian virtue? When we do our duty out of gratitude, love, and obedience to God and our Saviour. What does Christian virtue, therefore, presuppose in us? Faith in God and our Savior Jesus Christ"), but later frequently drops to the level of Rationalism. The *Ausfuehrliche Erklaerung der christlichen Lehre* has on pages 147-167 a *Kleine Religionsgeschichte,* where even the title is noteworthy, (not: *Heils-* or *Kirchengeschichte*), a collection of hymn stanzas for the questions of the *Ausfuehrliche Erklaerung,* and finally Luther's explanation. As a kind of appendix the latter is allowed to pass. For this widely circulated Hannoverian Catechism J. Fr. Chr. Graeffe published *Ausfuehrliche Katechisationen* in five volumes. They show that some of the rationalistic catechists had a far reaching capacity for adaptation, for while the God to whom he leads by his *Grundriss der allge-*

*meinen Katechetik nach Kantschen Grundsaetzen* (1796), is nothing else to Graeffe than a moral world creator and moral world ruler (p. 211 ff.), and while in the foregoing five Parts, i. e., not in Luther's explanation of these, but in the texts of the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., he perceives nothing but "venerable relics of the ancient past" (*Katechisationen,* vol. I, p. 13 f.),—he is able on the other hand in his *Katechisationen* to give instructions how to treat catechetically the doctrine of original sin, of Christ's divine nature, of the satisfaction through His death. Joh. Gottfr. Herder in his catechism for Weimar, 1800, begins with Luther's Catechism, employs it to some degree in his own presentation, and even defends it in a special preface: "This catechetical exercise is based on Luther's Catechism, not only because it is an established textbook of our country and must be accepted as such, but also because the contents of its Chief Parts are very well adapted to the purpose of a catechism and to the average comprehension of our youth." How little, however, Herder had laid hold of its contents is evident from the part "Of the work of redemption" (p. 84-90). A similar case is that of Fr. Braunschweig, catechist at Danzig; but through the title of his little book he already betrays what was to be expected: *Katechisationen ueber die christliche Religionslehre nach dem Leitfaden des kleinen lutherischen Katechismus im protestantischen Geiste entworfen* (1801). G. Zerrenner in his *Methodenbuch fuer Volksschullehrer* (3d ed. 1820) argued against the usefulness of Luther's Catechism: "It needs no proof that the Five Parts are very faulty as a guide to instruction, hard for children to understand because of their antiquated language, and were at first not even intended for them . . . as long, however, as we have no other short summary of the main doctrines of Christianity that is publicly authorized, it is advisable to keep it." T. B. N. Hacker, pastor at Zscheila, went farther still. Though

he called Luther's Catechism "a masterpiece of concise brevity" (preface VI) he thought it necessary to improve upon it. He wrote in the year 1800: *D. Martin Luthers kleiner Katechismus fuer die Pfarrherrn und Schullehrer aufs neue durchgesehen und verbessert"* (published after 1823 by his son). In it not a single piece of Luther's work remained "unimproved" and each Chief Part had its heart torn out. Others were more honest in simply doing away with Luther's Catechism and replacing it with something else. Thus the *Auszug der Unterweisung zur Glueckseligkeit nach der Lehre Jesu* (2nd ed. Berlin 1781), which had this arrangement: 1. That we may become blessed for ever; a) Of God the Creator of the world, His attributes and works; b) of man and his dependence on God; c) of God's feelings toward us and His intentions for us; d) of Jesus, the Redeemer of men, and faith in Him; e) of God's and His Holy Spirit's assistance in working faith in Jesus; f) of the blessedness of this and the future life; 2. What we must do to become blessed for ever: a) of the concern about our improvement; b) of the love we owe God; c) of the love we owe ourselves; d) of love for our neighbor; e) of Christianity, Holy Baptism, the Holy Supper, and the public service; f) of the Bible or Holy Scripture; g) of the reliability of Christian doctrine. Similar original treatises were furnished by Alberti, Cramer, Schlegel, Salzmann, Parisius, and others. Occasionally blind zealots actually attributed the evident deterioration of Christianity to Luther's Catechism. This was probably done for the first time in 1759 by an anonymous writer (Paul Trier, President of the Mining Court at Gluecksheim in the duchy of Meiningen), who in the *"Pium desiderium* of a Christian minded layman" asserted: "The opposition to the greater part of the Lutheran doctrine and still more, the lack of an active Christianity, was caused by the introduction of Luther's Small Catechism" (Th. Harnack, *Katechetik,* p. 97).

Herder in the *Weimarer Katechismus* (p. 84): "Of the work of Redemption. In which words of the Second Article has Luther explained the work of Redemption? I believe that Jesus Christ . . . innocence and blessedness. How is Christ described in these words? As a liberator who frees a captive from slavery and wins him for himself. From what has Christ, according to these words, freed or redeemed us? From sin, from death, and from the power of the devil. When is man in the captivity of sin? When he commits evil against better knowledge and conscience, John 8:34. When is man in the captivity of the devil? Likewise, when he sins willfully. The devil has no power over us except through sin, 1. John 3:8. How is man in the power of death? When he through sin brings death, i. e., all misfortune upon himself and must fear it as the punishment of sin. How then has Christ redeemed us from sin? A Christian dare not sin willfully; else he does not belong to Christ, but is a servant of sin, 1. John 3:9.10. What belongs to this servitude of sin? All willfull errors and prejudices; also superstition, evil habits, evil inclinations and vices. Has Christ freed us from all these? Yes, for they are falsehood and ignorance; His kingdom, however, is a kingdom of light and of the truth, Col. 1; 12-14. How has Christ freed us from error and superstition? By bringing us to the knowledge of the pure truth which leads us to blessedness."—Fr. Braunschweig (p. 78 ff.): "From what has Christ now redeemed you? From all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil. What do you understand by the power of the devil? The power of evil desires. Do all men still sin? Yes. Do all men still die? Yes. How then has Christ saved them from sin and death if they still sin and die? He has removed the causes of sinning and opened to them the expectation of eternal life, Rom. 6:3-8; John 12:46; 14:21-23; 13:15-17; 14:6; 12:35. Which were the causes of sin? Ignorance, error, superstitious worship, 2. Cor. 6:53-58, compared with 63, and 15:10. By what has He removed them? By His excellent doctrine which purely and truly teaches us to know God and our duties and which, if we obey it, shall lead us into all truth, John 8:31.32.34-46; 10:9; 13:34-45; 14:12-17; Eph. 4:17.22; Col. 2:12-14. How has Christ redeemed you? Not with gold or silver . . . death. Why does it say here: not with gold or silver? This refers to ancient Jewish conceptions, 1. Pet. 1:18. How did Christ through His sufferings and death redeem us from sin and death? By showing to the world the victory over sin and death through His innocent sufferings and voluntary death, by making the greatest sacrifice for the world, so as to reconcile it with virtue, and by proving the truth of His

doctrine, that He sanctified through His great life, as divine by His sublime suffering and death, Rom. 5:6-10. . . . What must we do to become partakers of the redemption by Christ? We must make use of the means of redemption, i. e., that we believe in Him or strive to gain a right knowledge of His doctrinal truths and exemplify the same in our lives, 1 Pet. 2:21; John 13:15-17; 14:13."—Hacker offers the following in place of Luther's explanation: 2. Article: "I believe that Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of our Father in heaven, by the decree of God sojourned as man for some time among us on this earth, to instruct us imperfect sinful men, who had become unworthy of the communion with God, through His teaching about sin and its sad consequences for time and eternity, and to encourage us through knowledge and repentance to use all our powers in doing good, to lead us back to communion with God, to show to us through His example the possibility of a life pleasing to God, and finally to furnish us through His voluntary death with the surest guaranty of the truth of His doctrine and of the pardon achieved through obedience to it, that we may live not only here in the world with wisdom and virtue, with rest and quietness, trusting in God as His elect, but also after death, being immortal, as He is, might taste, in close communion with God, and under His protection and government, the complete joys of a better world, we all have a right to hope for through Him." 3. Article: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason and strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to a right knowledge and practice of His teaching, but that the Spirit of God, whom Jesus after His ascension to heaven communicated to His disciples and believers for the further spreading and confirmation of His doctrine, must work all good within me and through the secret emotions of my heart and the awakening of my conscience must guide me on the way of virtue and true wisdom, so that I may look at this life as a preparation for eternity and as a school for a higher perfection, exercise myself with diligence and effort in all good, and attain the sure hope that, being risen from the dead, with all believers I shall lead an everlasting happy life with Christ, as we surely hope." 4. Part: "What benefits does Baptism confer? It shall remind man of all that which he has to know and do as a Christian, and thus assure him of the great benefits which through active faith in Jesus and His doctrine he can certainly gain, namely, the grace of God, the forgiveness of sins, an existence after death, and the eternal blessedness assured by Christ's own promise to that Christian virtue which through suffering and death perseveres to the end." 5. Part: "What is the Sacrament of the

Altar? It is the celebration of that memorable act which our Savior Jesus Christ instituted at the last private supper with His disciples and commanded us to repeat, to promote the memory of His teaching, His life, and especially of His salutary death, and to encourage all Christians to a universal and wholly unselfish brotherly love."—Friedrich Ludw. Mayer, pastor at Sommersdorf and Thann, published (Ansbach 1815) *Katechisationen ueber den ersten Unterricht in der Religion.* The second treats "of the creation of man, his main characteristics and excellencies" (p. 12-30). He first very briefly touches upon the fact of man's creation (p. 12-14), then with some detail he states that man consists of body and soul (p. 15-20); then we find a description of the excellencies of the human soul (p. 20-25) and of the human body (p. 25-30). Here we read, p. 18-19: "What has our immortal soul, endowed as it is with reason, received for an habitation and as the implement whereby it works and reveals itself on earth? A body. Let us for a moment look closer at our body. What flows in its veins? Blood. Whither does the blood flow in its course? Through the whole body. And that in so infinitely many larger and smaller tubes that one is not able to pierce the flesh even with the finest point of a needle without encountering such a tube or vein. When one stabs into it, what is it that at once flows forth? Blood. Wither, therefore, does the blood flow in these smaller and larger tubes? Through the whole human body. Furthermore, what are the parts of the body with which we feel called? The nerves. Only in the nails and hair of our body there are no nerves; what, therefore, is lacking in these? Feeling. But in what other parts of our body do we find the nerves? In all. How do you infer this? Because I have feeling in all parts of my body. What do we furthermore call the fleshy parts of our body through which we can move? The muscles. What parts of our body are therefore the muscles? Those fleshy parts by means of which we can move. And which are finally its firmer, hardest parts? The bones. If we had no bones in feet and legs, what could we not do? We could not stand nor walk. If arms and hands had no bones, what then were impossible for us? To work or to carry anything. The bones, as the hard and firm parts in our body, are, therefore, not useless or superfluous, but on the contrary—? Highly useful and indispensable. How are all these parts joined, as all the art and wisdom of men could not have connected or arranged them? Very wisely and artistically. Which part of man is, therefore, very wisely and artistically contrived and arranged? The body. And who has made all this? The good Lord. What then do you say to the Creator, with a thank-

ful heart, according to the appended passages of Scripture? "I thank Thee that I have been created so wonderfully, etc." The 16. catechization finally treats of Jesus (p. 148-162): 1. of His name; 2. of faith in Him; 3. of His imitation—everything in such an inane and superficial manner as only the most vulgar Rationalism could venture it. Jesus is "the founder of the Christian religion as the most perfect example for our happiness." He is God's only begotten Son because He is "the best and most holy human being." He came to proclaim God's will and to redeem us through His teaching (John 3:16). "The good Lord has revealed His will unto us in our inner being; before the birth of Jesus, He caused men to be instructed, in the most ancient times through extraordinary teachers who are called prophets; and even at present He occasionally raises enlightened and virtuous teachers who again proclaim to us His will; but of all these Jesus is the greatest and most venerable (Heb. 1:1-2)."

However deplorable this setting aside and perversion of Luther's Catechism through Rationalism is, one thing must not be forgotten: Whereas, contrary to Luther's intention, the whole material of theology had previously been woven into catechetical instruction, the Rationalists awoke to the fact that one must distinguish between theology and religion,—or in other words: that nothing has a place in the religious instruction of the young that a Christian does not need for life or in death. It is true, the distinction was carried out by Rationalism in quite a perverse manner and had frequently caused a confusion of Evangelical religion and morality with natural religion and morality, but the realization of the necessity of this distinction in itself was valuable.

Much more valuable, however, was the new method which was introduced by Rationalism. This was work of lasting value. To call this method simply "the Socratic method of questioning" is too narrow a description, though this is one of its essential characteristics. Its most important elements may briefly be given here. Its fundamental principle was: "things not understood must not be memorized." Formerly the catechetes let memorizing suffice and then left it to the Spirit of God to operate through this material; later they had

the traditional material memorized and afterwards endeavored to explain it; but here the order was reversed; first understand, and afterwards memorize, as far as that is necessary. But how should one lead the pupils to understanding? By adapting oneself to the intellectual development of the children and by proceeding by definite stages, and by training the children for intellectual co-operation and active participation. That the instruction must be given gradually had never been quite forgotten. Luther had called attention to it in the preface to the Catechism and in subsequent times it had never been quite lost sight of. But now the claim was made in a new way and its execution was demanded to such a degree that the result was an entirely new systematizing of the material. Though we detect the beginnings of the new order in Francke and still more clearly already in Rambach, real results were only reached in this period. Tendencies toward intellectual co-operation, were also not entirely lacking in the preceding period, but then it was only the reflection upon material furnished by others; the emotional experience of that which was placed ready made before the soul of the child. Now, on the other hand, teachers insisted that the pupil gain all new knowledge by himself, acquire it for himself, find it himself through his own thinking, and erect the whole structure of religious truth by his own efforts. Bahrdt: "The Socratic never obtrudes anything; even the child of five years must think, draw conclusions, and discover facts for himself." Dinter: "The analyzing catechist delivers to his pupil the finished dwelling house, tells him the purpose of the whole, calls his attention to the single parts and their suitable arrangement; he teaches him to know the house that was built by others. The exponent of the Socratic method leads his pupil to the empty place, ponders with him how it may be utilized, built upon, gathers the material with him, and has the structure erected under his supervision: The pupil of

Socrates learns to build houses." The means, however, by which the catechist trains the soul of the child to this self-activity, sets it in motion, as it were, and leads it on, step by step—is the question, not the confessional, or examination, or analyzing question, but the didactic or developing question. Through it he leads the pupil step by step from grade to grade from the known to the unknown, from the near to the distant, from the simple to the complex, permits him the joy of seeking and finding, spurs him on to consider the preliminary result only as a starting point for new inquiries, till the full truth has been found and finally stands before the pupil as something self-acquired. The inauguration of this developing didactic conversation comprises the specifically new, the pioneer work, and the enduring element brought us by this period. That is the reason why we possess so many model catecheses in question and answer, belonging to this period, like those by J. P. Miller, Fr. Treumann, Eckard, Schmid, Kunowski, Baumgaertel, Graeffe, Dolz, Dinter, Thierbach, Schroedter, and others. So the textbooks on Catechetics which now appeared in great numbers, like those by G. Hartung (1827), J. F. Schlez (1828), and E. Thierbach (1820 ff.; 1830), occupy themselves almost exclusively with rules concerning the true art of questioning.

Since, however, the self-discovery of the truth on the part of the child must take place by way of conclusion, inference, deduction, the question arises: What is the starting point from which the child shall draw its conclusions and inferences? The answer of all theorists was: the familiar. But in the answers to the question, What is the familiar?, we find a wide divergence. Some thought only of the knowledge immanent in the child by nature, thus especially Kant, Daub, and, though with some vacillation, Graeffe; others of that which comes from the outside and has become the property of the child, thus, e. g., Resewitz; a third class thought

of that which had before been brought *ad hoc* before the child, from which deductions were to be made, e. g., illustrations, analogies, parables, comparisons, narratives, as well as Biblical stories, Bible passages, complete Biblical parts, thus, e. g., Salzmann, Miller, Vierthaler, Dinter. We learn from the starting point of the first how this *Sokratik* favored consistent Rationalism and on its part could lead to nothing else but to natural religion and morality; from the starting point of the third we recognize how this developing method had, on the other hand, a wide field of activity in the realm of faith in revealed religion. It depends on what the catechist offers his pupils as a starting point. If these are non-Christian materials, then only non-Christian conceptions may be deducted therefrom; if it is the Biblical History of Salvation, then we are able to deduce the truths of the Second and Third Article from it. The most able representative of the third theory was Dinter, who in his *Unterredungen ueber die Hauptstuecke des lutherischen Katechismus* in 13 volumes (1806 ff.) usually proceeded from Biblical subject matter and showed himself a rare master in the art of catechetical development. G. v. Zezchwitz correctly emphasized the fact that every catechist who desires to develop his subject successfully will be well repaid, even today, by learning from Dinter. It is also worthy of notice that he assigns the "Socratic" method not to the lower, but to the higher grade: "Pestalozzi is king of the lower, Socrates king of the higher class. In the intermediate class the child proceeds from the former to the latter, as his strength permits. Both men labor to make themselves unnecessary." With what respect he treated the doctrines of the Church we may especially recognize from his conversations on the 2. Article. We add an example of his *Unterredungen ueber den Katechismus:*

Teacher: Has the garden back of your house come into being of itself? Child: No, my grandfather planted it.—Who, then was there first, the garden, or the grandfather who planted it? Grand-

father was there first.—Why did that have to be the case? Otherwise he would have been unable to plant it.—What do we call that which is produced, or brought about by someone? The effect.—And what do we call that by whose power an effect is produced? The cause.—When you think of your grandfather and the garden in this connection, can you use these words? Yes, my grandfather was the cause, and the garden was the effect.—Do you think that the same is the case elsewhere? Yes.—Think of the watch and the watchmaker. The watchmaker was there first.—Think of a similar example. The cabinetmaker was there before the table.—Now think of a case where the effect was there before the cause. That is impossible: if the cause is not there first, it cannot produce effects.—It would be better to say: it cannot bring about an effect: now can you state this in general terms? The cause always comes before the effect. —Now let us apply this to God and the world. God is the cause, and the world is the effect.—What follows from this? God must have been there first, or He could not have made the world.— As soon as I think of a maker of the world, it becomes clear that there must have been a time when the world began to be. Before it was there, there was nothing but God: God made the world; by whom now was God made? By nobody; nobody was there but God.— Well, if He was made by nobody, He must have come into being of Himself. That is out of the question; for nothing can come forth by itself.— But is that quite sure? What is meant by saying, You have reason? That I can see the connection between cause and effect.—Suppose, now, someone would fancy an effect without a cause, what would you call him? Unreasonable.—But coming into being is surely an effect. Therefore there must be a cause for it.—If someone, accordingly, should say: "Something comes into being of itself," what would you say to him? He speaks unreasonably; where there is an effect, there must be a cause; nothing, therefore, can come into being of itself.— And God? Neither can God have come into being of Himself.—Now let us put all this together: God was there before the world; nobody can have made Him; nor can he have come into being of Himself; but one possibility remains; which might that be? He cannot have come into being at all; the world came into being; that is put also in this way: it had a beginning; as to God, He never came into being.—How can that be best expressed? He has no beginning; He has no end.—Good that you remember this from the lower grades; but there you had to learn many things without knowing the reasons

why we should believe that it is so; now your attention is also to be called to the reasons.

Do you see yonder tree? What do you believe concerning it? Will it be there forever? No, some time it will be cut down.—Why do you believe that? Because the people need wood, if they are not to freeze.—Now, when someone cuts it down, does the cause of its destruction come from the outside or from itself? It comes from the outside.—Suppose that nobody would cut it down, will it always stand there, and will it never be destroyed? Sometime it would decay and cease to be.—In that case, would the cause of destruction come from without? No, it would come from within.—This is the case with the tree; this is the case with every other thing; when it is destroyed, only one of two things is possible; where then may the cause of destruction be found? The ground of destruction is either without or within the thing destroyed.—No third possibility can be imagined; let us apply this to God, and ask the question whether God can ever take an end. If God were to have an end, one of two events would have to take place. Which? The reason for God taking an end would have to be within Him or without Him.—In connection with God we will speak not of destruction, but of extermination. Why? That shall be explained in one of the following conversations; now, if, of two things the one destroys the other, which of the two is bound to be the stronger? The one that does the destroying is bound to be stronger than that which is destroyed.—Now, suppose that God, the living God, God the Creator, should be exterminated by someone, what would have to be the case? The other would have to be stronger than God.—But is that a possibility? No, nobody is stronger than God; for God is almighty.—What, accordingly, is no living being, no power of nature, able to do? To exterminate God.—The cause of an extermination of God, therefore, cannot come from without; but we assumed a second possibility; could the cause of extermination lie within God as it does within the oak? No, that, too, is imposible.—Why? Suppose that yonder oak tree had a duration of five hundred years, could it, in that case, have been there eight hundred years ago? No, it would have decayed a long time ago. How many years ago? Three hundred years ago.—Or could it be possible that it had no beginning at all; that it was there from the beginning? In that case it would have decayed even sooner.—This much, then, must be clear to you: a thing that bears in itself the cause of destruction, cannot have been there from the beginning; why? It would have been destroyed long ago.—Hence,

if anything has no beginning, what are you sure of in regard to it? What can it not bear within itself? The ground of destruction.—Apply this to God. God has no beginning; for that reason He cannot bear the ground of extermination within Himself. What do you conclude from that? That no ground whatever of His extermination exists.—Therefore, just as surely as God has no beginning, He has . . . can you continue? He has no end.—What is it now that you have said of God? He has neither beginning nor end.—Do you know what He is called for that reason? He is called eternal.—Right; sometimes we call Him something else; whatever comes to an end, we call what? Finite.—Him who never takes an end, we call what? Infinite.

Let us once more survey the path which our conversation has taken. What did we first say of cause and effect? The cause is there always first, before the effect; God is the cause of the world; hence God must have been there before the world.—Very well; but that does not say that He was there from eternity; someone may have produced Him. No; for no one was there but Himself.—How did we argue further? He cannot have come into being of Himself; for nothing comes into being of itself.—Now, then, if He has not been produced by anyone else nor come into being of Himself, what must we conclude? He did not come into being at all; He had no beginning.—But whence do we know for certain that He has no end? If anything is to come to an end, the cause must be found within or without it.—Which of the two, now, may be the case with God? Another cannot exterminate God because God is almighty; nor can a ground of extermination be found in God; for He has no beginning. —From all this follows the divine attribute about which we mean to converse today; which? God is eternal.—That means? He has neither a beginning nor an end.

The Socratic method had, despite occasional criticism, enjoyed absolute control till the turn of the century, but a counter movement was inaugurated at the beginning of the new century. At first by the well-known pedagogue, H. Pestalozzi, whose *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt* appeared in 1801. Though occupying to a great degree the same standpoint as Rationalism and its Socratic method, Pestalozzi nevertheless endeavored to influence not only the intellect, beyond which the Socratic method in spite of several better

attempts in theory rarely advanced in practice, but also to touch the whole man, and instead of utilizing intuition only occasionally, he insisted on the principle of intuition as the fundamental principle of the whole process of education. Of greater consequence was the attitude of the Heidelberg Professor Fr. H. Chr. Schwarz in his catechetics of 1818. He maintained that only mathematics and logic belong to the realm of the Socratic method, which like midwives merely assists in the birth of the cognitions living in the soul of the child. In all other subjects much must be supplied by experience. In historical studies quizzing is more in order than inquiry. Religious instruction has to do with something that may be logically developed, but still more with historical and metaphysical materials which cannot be approached by that art of catechizing. "It is true that much of the religious sense of the child may be developed by that form of catechizing, but if we cannot presuppose another source to which the questions point, that even the most successful search for definition (*Begriffsentwicklung*) remains nothing more than a discussion of secular affairs and has nothing in common with religion." He furthermore asserted that the insistence upon reasonableness is quite in place, but the one-sided way of stressing this principle led to the error that ignorance is worse than wickedness. The heart remaining empty, such catechizing is in the long run no better than the mechanical memorizing previously in vogue. Schwarz in the south was joined by Claus Harms in the north. In his *Pastoraltheologie,* printed in 1830, but written much earlier, he said: "That Catechetics has become Socratic has caused much injury to Christianity; Socratic catechetics is, indeed, both a mother and a daughter of Rationalism, which devours its own children and afterwards destroys itself." However, he knew himself separated from it not only in content; he opposed, without underestimating the value of development,

the method, which seemed to him too onesidedly intellectual. "Catechetes experienced in Socratic method mostly fail in that they apply themselves exclusively to reason and let the heart remain empty. Question follows question with speed and gusto; there is discussing, developing, explaining; example and illustration are brought in, punctuation is drawn upon for light, and assumption must do its share, and whatever else is required by catechetics is there, with all of which, if all goes well, logical efficiency is attained, and the final joy of being able to say: Now I have caught it." To this was added Schleiermacher's weighty voice. In his lectures on Practical Theology (published 1850, but delivered between 1824 and 1834), he indeed stressed the continuation of the development method, but also emphasized the fact that besides this the lecture method is also indispensable and that it is not at all sufficient to impart to the children general religious truths, but that they should be educated to become Evangelical Christians, who at the conclusion of the instruction would recognize the faith of the Church, confessed in the Apostles' Creed as their own. When later wide circles returned to the faith and theology of revealed religion, the period of Rationalism and the Socratic method affiliated with it was at an end, and Luther's Catechism again gained a position in religious instruction befitting its nature and character.

# 11. Luther's Catechism Since the Renewal of Faith

VALUABLE as was the opposition of men like Pestalozzi, Schwarz, Schleiermacher, and others to the Socratic method, Luther's Catechism would not have regained its former position, if a renewal of faith had not set in throughout the land and had assumed, after about 1830, a character more and more in harmony with, and determined by, the Church. When in Schleswig-Holstein Claus Harms' influence increased, and in Hannover the layman August von Arnswaldt and Petri raised their voices; when in Prussia Hengstenberg accepted the editorship of the *Evang. Kirchenzeitung;* and Scheibel, Steffens, Guericke, Sartorius, and others aroused Lutheran consciousness; when in Bavaria Lehmus, Brandt, Bomhard, Thomasius, Harless, Loehe discovered that the Symbolical Books represented the expression of their own faith—then the soil was prepared for a new triumph of Luther's Catechism. Ackermann defended the right of the old Chief Parts in Bavaria (1832). Schott published the Enchiridion with an historical introduction (Leipzig 1833); Harnisch wrote his *Entwuerfe und Stoffe zu Unterredungen ueber Luthers Katechismus,* (1834). Heuser and Sander published an explanation for the Wupper Valley; Boeckh in Bavaria a selection of Scripture passages adapted to Luther's Catechism. He was joined by Brandt at Windsbach with his voluminous *Sonntags-Kinderlehren ueber den kleinen luth. Katechismus* (Ansbach s.a.). The ministry of Luebeck in 1837 issued its *Erklaerung des Kleinen Katechismus Luthers* in which it confessed in unmistakable language the eternal Godhead of Christ and His vicarious satisfaction

and also advocated the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacrament. Question 438: "What do you receive in the Lord's Supper?" is answered: "I receive not only a sign which represents the body and blood of the Lord; but the crucified and glorified Christ Himself truly gives me His body and blood to eat and drink;" and question 439: "How do you understand this?" thus: "I cannot indeed fathom how the body and blood of the Lord is present in the Holy Supper, but I know this, because Christ has said that under the blessed bread and cup He makes me truly and essentially a partaker of His body and blood, which were sacrificed for me and unites Himself with me as bread and wine are united with my mortal body." This catechism replaced the Catechism of J. A. Cramer, published and used since 1774 (cf. the one for Schleswig-Holstein of 1785), which is sufficiently characterized by its beginning: "Do not all men wish at all times to be glad and happy?" In 1825 the *Homiletisch-liturgisches Korrespondenzblatt* had been founded in Bavaria by Brandt. This also offered valuable catechetical treatises in the spirit of the Lutheran renewal. In 1838 the *Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche* appeared for the first time under Harless' editorship. After 1840 it was joined by the *Zeitschrift fuer Luth. Theologie und Kirche,* published by Rudelbach and Guericke. A new period had begun.

After 1840 the number of treatises on Luther's Catechism increased. It is significant that we find among the first, Rudelbach's "Official testimony on the restoration of the catechetical examinations in the kingdom of Saxony" (Oct. 6, 1840), accompanied by a "Historical discussion of the catechetical institutions of the Ev. Luth. Church of Germany" and a treatise by Professor Lindner "On the necessity of an effective restoration and renovation of the catechizing in churches for the improvement of the religious life" (Dresden 1841). Here the Church was reminded how many different agencies

the 16. and 17. centuries possessed for the religious education of the youth as well as of the older people, and was admonished to restore that which had been neglected, especially the further care of the confirmed by catechizing them on the Catechism. This challenge did not remain without a result. The interest in the Catechism became more general and thorough. Loehe wrote in 1845, in his *Drei Buecher von der Kirche* (Stuttgart 1845), his hymn of praise on the Catechism and furnished valuable hints for its exposition. In the same year he published, in the first part of his *Haus-, Schul- und Kirchenbuch,* his own simple exposition. Irmischer, the editor of Luther's Works, in 1846 issued his explanation based on Spener. Frantz and Kaehler expounded Luther's Catechism with passages from Luther's writings (1842, 1849). Francke used it as basis of his textbook of the Christian religion (1844). In Mecklenburg-Strelitz, where Herder's exposition of Luther's Catechism had been in use since 1812, all the synods after 1840 occupied themselves with the preparation of a suitable catechism and declared *una voce* that this had to be an exposition of Luther's Catechism; in 1849 the publication of the desired catechism was realized, and after 1853, the use of no other was permitted besides it. After 1850 in Pomerania and beyond, the exposition of the Catechism by Jaspis became popular. Especially should it not be forgotten that in 1844 Palmer's fundamental and popular *Evangelische Katechetik,* in which the author defended and advocated Luther's Catechism, appeared. In the 2nd edition of 1846 he wrote: "It is indeed true that even with the Lutheran Catechism in hand, any one can lecture whatever he wants; since he knows, however, that the Church has entrusted him with the catechetical office and with the Catechism only that he may teach it in her sense, whose servant he is, she must leave it to his conscience to answer for what he does. In any case, then, the congregation,—because the

Catechism has its place in the hands of the people,—has in it a sure guide, by whose help the people may determine whether the catechist teaches evangelically or not. If, however, anyone would acknowledge that the Catechism must needs be a symbolic book, but would all the more demand that new catechisms should be produced because the old ones are no longer adequate we should oppose this, first with the argument that we were not capable of producing anything of even mediocre value. Place all the catechetical products of recent times side by side with Luther's and only the stone-blind would not observe the feeble, prosaic, now paltry, now verbose character of the former over against the vigorous and concise power, the pithiness and popularity of the latter. If we are unable even to produce a symbol, then the inability to produce a catechism which should take the place of Luther's, would be still more evident. This inability we may acknowledge the more boldly, as we have no occasion of proving our strength. For we need no new catechism. Luther still serves very well and shall, God willing, not so soon become unusable."

Wilhelm Loehe's praise of Luther's Catechism deserves preservation: "The Small Catechism of Luther is a Symbol of the Church, and indeed among all the symbols that which is most popular among the people. It is a fact which nobody denies that no catechism in the whole world but this one can be prayed. But it is less generally recognized that it may be called a veritable miracle because of the extraordinary abundance and great riches of understanding we find expressed here in so few words. For he certainly does not understand it, who regards it as poor and deficient. Justus Jonas once observed: 'Though it costs only 6 *Pfennige,* it could not be paid with 6000 worlds'. This he said of its riches and its fulness.—However, we will reserve the praise of the Small Catechism for another time and here only speak of the ecclesiastical treatment of this Catechism, this glorious instrument of God's grace. Two things we must mention here: 1. Some treat the Catechism like a standpoint from which they have to proceed and around which they have to build the whole structure of holy doctrine. They explain the Catechism to such a degree that they

cover it, render it invisible, kill it with the multitude of their explanations and additions. At their catechetical instruction they enjoy reviewing their dogmatic lectures, for which otherwise they have no leisure nor liking. They pour a long dogmatic soliloquy into the ears of poor children, who, of course, derive very little benefit. Every pastor, every school teacher explains the Catechism in this manner, perhaps gains a little for himself, but what is the benefit to the Church? If thousands of catechetical expositions were printed, so that it became a great flood, still Luther's *ipsissimum verbum* must remain the ark on the flood which holds a few, while the flood destroys itself. One should rather make the Catechism the goal of the instruction. It is a pure reflection of the divine Word, both a lay-bible, and the joy of the theologians. It is itself the full extent of doctrine which the teacher shall unfold to his scholars, impress upon them and teach them to understand. To reach the literal sense of the Small Catechism is no small matter. Formerly lectures on it were delivered in the universities—formerly, that is, in times when there was more general knowledge of faith than now. On the other hand we may be convinced that nowadays among hundreds of pastors, to say nothing of school teachers, only a few can be found who have so comprehended the literal sense of the Catechism that they are able to unfold its rich thoughts,—and among them all there are none who might rightfully hesitate to be included among the simple pastors for whom it was written. In short, the Small Catechism is a correct measure for all—for great and small. Therefore one should not add, nor subtract, but stick to the text and above all things raise the people again to a proper appreciation of its value so that they know what is in the Catechism and what it means to the people. The teacher who impresses upon his children the literal sense and contents of this Catechism has given more to them than most of the teachers give to their catechumens nowadays. And whoever can restore to the teachers this art of simplicity, has rendered a great service to them and through them to the Church. For the people would again have a true standard by which they could measure and correctly judge all teaching so that they be not tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, but would have received that precious thing, a heart firmly established in God's Word. This is the aim a teacher of the Church has in view—and he rejoices that he has found in the Small Catechism a standard of teaching for himself, a standard of learning for others.—2. How many, who are acquainted with the Small Catechism, know its preface which together with the

introduction to the Large Catechism offers an incomparable, simple, yet truly religious method of catechetical instruction? And again, how many know both prefaces without having observed that the Catechism was written not only for the Church or school, but also for the home? Home, school, and Church become One Church through the dear Catechism. Why is the very important factor of the home omitted? That is the reason why the Catechism is memorized so miserably, and sounds so wooden and flat, because it is not considered as something intended for the home, nor for daily life, nor as a life philosophy, but as a lesson for children and the school room. As a watch-word belongs on the lips of all who are united in one camp, thus the Catechism as a spiritual watch-word should be on the lips of all. The father, the children, the servants should use it; pray, learn, appreciate it. Thus it will become the cruse of oil of the woman of Zarephath that does not fail. Yes, when the Catechism again becomes a book for the home, then people will realize what a flood of strength proceeds from it for the Church and for all her undertakings. It is a *norma normata,* a divine-human *regula fidei*—divine in text, human in the faithful "What is meant by this?"—a symbol, a war-cry which, spoken from the depths of the soul, is able to overthrow the bulwarks of Satan. It shall be commended for its divine foundation, its character of *norma normans* shall be proved, constantly being tested by God's Word, quoted in sermons and praised for its excellencies so that it may help to strengthen the unity of the Church, and great and small, learned and unlearned may have a declaration of faith in which they are united and about which they can rally in the turmoil of the times." Only a year later Palmer quoted these words of Loehe in the new edition of his Catechetics (1846) thus giving them widespread publicity, even though he did not altogether approve the catechetical method they proclaimed.

Even before this, H. A. Daniel in Halle had published his excellent little book: "Luther's Small Catechism explained from Holy Scripture" (Halle 1840) in which he explained Luther's text for the benefit of Prince Hugo of Schoenburg in a continuous discourse composed entirely of Bible passages. In the preface he writes: "The Small Catechism is not only the most widely known, but also the most unique of the symbolical books of all churches. Some truths may not have been treated as exhaustively as a detailed, dogmatic exposition might require; but just this is, I believe, the peculiar excellence and beauty of this little book that it omits all questions of secondary importance, all matters of dispute, and causes all the

truths it sets forth to focus upon the one thing that is needful. Its language is so childlike and simple, so grand, so awe inspiring, so consoling, as the need arises, that coming, as it did, from the heart, it also goes to the heart of everyone who may hear or read it. The Reformers had cause for rejoicing when in visiting the churches they found that the boys and girls, tender plants in the garden of God, knew more about Christianity from this book than many a learned doctor had known before it was written. And let no one imagine that the learned and the great in our day can not learn from this booklet that was written for the common people. As the Holy Scriptures themselves are sufficient for the young and old, for the poor and rich, for the high and low, for the learned and unlearned, so also is Luther's Catechism, and is loved no less than Scriptures also by the learned and the great. Prince Joachim of Anhalt wrote into this book: 'Next to the Bible, this is my most precious book', and Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz wished to have it placed into his folded hands when he would lie in his coffin. How effectively this book sets forth the truth: 'There is neither bond nor free; we are all one in Christ Jesus', how it unites all the disciples of the Lord with the bond of perfection which is love!"—Loehe's and Daniel's statement that Luther's Catechism is the true bond of unity among Christians receive new emphasis and meaning from the words of Jul. Kell (*Vorschlaege und Wuensche ueber eine Reform des Religionsunterrichts in ev. Volksschulen,* Leipzig 1843, p. 28): "We must put an end to the present disorder in matters concerning the Catechism, before every circuit, every school, every class has its own peculiar form of Christianity. We need a reform before things get so that a child, when it is transferred from one village school to another must also change to some other form of religious instruction. We must see to it that every Evangelical Christian, wherever he may receive his instruction, is grounded in the same fundamental truths and everywhere finds the same old and familiar books, the Bible and Luther's Catechism." Also the judgment of the historian Leopold von Ranke, on Luther's Catechism which he declared in his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation,* did much to create renewed appreciation for the book: "Luther's Catechism is at once child-like and profound, lucid and unfathomable, simple and sublime. Happy is the man who constantly returns to it to nourish his soul. To him it will ever remain a living fountain of comfort, a frail shell that contains the heart of truth which satisfies the wisest of the wise."

We had maintained that 1840 marks the beginning of a new period

in the history of the Catechism and that from then on its position became more and more secure. We quote two contemporaries of that period to confirm our contention. In his book: *Das geistliche Lied in der ev. Volksschule Deutschlands* (Erfurt 1842, p. 8, 9) Thilo wrote: "The times are passed when books on Luther's Catechism can find a ready sale that treat it as merely an object of historical interest or that regard Christian instruction as nothing more than the intellectual exercise of combining unrelated truths of faith and life into a system of Christian doctrine. Such books are still in circulation; but they go about, not as the embodiment of life living spirit, for they never had anything in common with the Spirit; but as starved skeletons with neither marrow in their bones, nor strength in their muscles, nor fire in their veins, nor the courage of their convictions in their hearts. Luther's Catechism is and will remain the book in which the foundation plan for all human thinking and believing is laid down according to the Bible in a form that the common man can understand. Happy is he who according to it builds the house of his faith. Under its shadow he will surely dwell secure." In his book, *Geist und Gebrauch d. Luth. Katechismus* (Berlin 1843 p. 49) Kalcher wrote a year later: "The Catechism has seen hard times in the past; but happily it has outlived them, and the number of those is now constantly increasing, who are turning to it with new love and devotion."

Since 1850 it had again become the rule in all established Lutheran churches that Luther's Catechism must be made the basis for the religious instruction of the youth. There was a difference of opinion only on the question whether (besides Biblical History, etc.) the Scripture passages only, or also a detailed explanation in the form of questions and answers should be printed with the catechism text. As early as 1836, Bavaria had taken the former course, without, however, forbidding the use of the catechism enlarged by questions and answers. Daniel adopted this method in 1840, and Petermann, Beck, Zeller, Ackermann, Strauss, and Wolff followed his example. Goetz (Stuttgart 1848) adopted a middle course, explaining the text by the help of questions and answers, but clothing his answers in words of Holy Scripture. Besides these, countless other catechisms were published whose use was permitted, authorized, in some cases even prescribed.

Of these the following deserve special mention: Boeckh, Loehe, Caspari, and Buchrucker in Bavaria; Seebold and Genzken in Hannover, to which a revised edition of Walther (1651) was added in 1862 in the face of strong opposition. Later came the catechisms of L. W. Fricke (1885), Steinmetz (1889), Schaaf (10th ed. 1899) in Hannover, Nielsen in Schleswig-Holstein, a revised edition of the *Kreuzkatechismus* (1688) and the catechisms of Crueger and Schuetze in Saxony. Some excellent catechisms were produced in the old provinces of Prussia; in Silesia, a revised edition of the catechism of Breslau-Oels by Wendel, and the explanations of Daechsel, Kolde, and Kolbe; in Brandenburg, the catechisms of Bachmann and Seeliger; that of Brieger in Pomerania, of Francke in Posen, of Weiss in East Prussia, those of Nesselmann and Gottschewski in West Prussia, of Kramm, Pfeiffer, and Foerster in the Province of Saxony, the revised Herford catechism (1690) in Westphalia, a revised edition of Seiler (1779) and the catechisms of B. Feldner and W. Harnisch in Rhenish Prussia. Even the catechism for Baden (1856) on which the later Rhenish catechism is based adopted parts of Luther's Catechism. Wuerttemberg continued to use its *Kinderlehre,* that is, the "Epitome of Catechetical Instruction unto Salvation Based on Brenz's Catechism, together with Questions and Answers from Luther's Small Catechism" which had been in use at least since 1682 and which had been revised in 1788 by K. H. Rieger, and once more since 1894. Only rarely were explanations of Luther's Catechism produced to be officially appointed for use throughout a whole province; but, except in Mecklenburg, such explanations enjoyed only passing favor. While such "explained" catechisms naturally reflected theological principles and theories of religious instruction not shared by all those officially united in the state churches, the text of Luther's Catechism accompanied with a collection of Scripture passages served as a most convenient and effective

bond of unity. Let us take for example the history of the Catechism in Hannover, Saxony, and Bavaria. In spite of the fact that many excellent explanations were produced and used in Hannover, the book that enjoyed the widest favor was C. Erck's *Spruchbuch zu den Fuenf Hauptstuecken,* published in 1867, and later enlarged. Not less than 37 different kinds of catechisms, some with explanations, were in use in Saxony in 1875; in 1892 their number had dwindled down to twelve, and even these have since that time largely been supplanted by the booklet: *Der Kleine Katechismus Luthers nebst Bibelspruechen, Kirchenliedern und Choralmelodien,* which had been introduced in 1877. Ever since the first general synod in 1823 the church in Bavaria has sought a solution for the same question. In 1832 the church rejected a plan for an explanation of Luther's text based on Seiler's catechism of 1779 and decided in favor of a catechism consisting of Luther's text with Scripture passages. This book was prepared by Ch. F. Boeckh and introduced in 1836. In addition various catechisms with explanations later received official approval, f. i. those of Boeckh, Loehe, Irmischer, Caspari, Boeckh-Burger (1879). Many efforts were made to establish uniformity in the use of an explained catechism. But they all failed, until 1898 when Buchrucker's exposition was officially authorized for exclusive use. In 1927, however, the church in Bavaria again returned to the use of Luther's text with Scripture passages, only that valuable suggestions were added regarding their use. The catechist, in consequence, received far-reaching liberties; and yet definite limits were laid down for his choice of method and material of instruction. Also in Thuringia and Hessia the church was content with authorizing the use of Luther's text with Scripture passages (e. g. Ackermann and Euler).

Bulky handbooks, such as those of Wangemann, Arndt, Kaehler, Nissen, Luehrs, Buchrucker, G. v. Zezschwitz

(*Christenlehre*), Euler, Schumann, J. H. A. Fricke, were printed for the use of the catechist, even complete catechizations such as those of Schuetze. Sermons on the Catechism again came into vogue. The most noteworthy are those of Loehe, Ahlfeld, Caspari, L. Harms, Seeberg, and E. Frommel. Collections of parables and stories illustrating the Catechism, such as Caspari's *Geistliches und Weltliches,* the most popular, and the more modern collections, such as those of Scheller and Besch. Warneck, Schaefer, and Koenig showed how to illustrate the Catechism from the history of home and foreign missions. First editions of Luther's Catechism were critically established and published (especially by Moenckeberg, Schneider, Harnack, and later by Buchwald, Knoke, Albrecht). Its history since the Reformation was investigated (Ehrenfeuchter, Ernesti, Zezschwitz, Ernst, Adam, Fr. Fricke) and earlier editions were republished (Bodemann). In his "Catechetics" G. v. Zezschwitz furnished a valuable source of information on all pertinent questions. In his work on the Catechisms which he prepared for the Weimar edition of Luther's works, Albrecht produced a historical work of the first order, and the present author, in his *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts* has furnished a *Codex Catecheticus* of the sixteenth century and a documentary history showing in minutest detail how the Catechism was used during the Reformation period. The attempt was made to produce a uniform text (Eisenach 1884). All this shows the interest and love for the Catechism and the high regard in which it continued to be held. Among the expositions of the Catechisms that appeared in Germany during the last decades, those of R. Steinmetz and Heinrich Huebner, and among the handbooks for catechists, that of Theod. Kaftan are particularly noteworthy.

There was, to be sure, no lack of opposition to Luther's Catechism even during this period. Diesterweg, M. Schulze,

Lueben, K. Richter, Fricke—teachers, most of them—were its chief exponents. Their ideals were more or less distinct remnants of Rationalism. Adolf Diesterweg, who had been dismissed from his office as director of the seminary at Berlin in 1847 on account of his liberal views, wrote a book in 1848 entitled: "Shall Confessional Religious instruction be Given in the School or not?" in which he makes statements such as these: The fundamental rules for all religious instruction should be: Cheerfulness—therefore away with everything gloomy; Concreteness—therefore away with all memory work; Development—therefore away with all dogmatic instruction; Absence of system—therefore away with the theological system and the catechisms of the church; Progress—therefore away with a definite conclusion to man's religious education. Let each man for himself experience the evolution of the human race; therefore all education must be based on history in order that he himself might be developed by the history of the human race, and his religious consciousness by the history of religion. Therefore religious instruction must always be based on history. At the *Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrerversammlung* in 1870 in Vienna Superintendent Schultze said: "The severe, rigid, intolerant confessionalism which lies like an unbearable load on our schools, justifies the complaint of many teachers, and the cry for deliverance from the heavy yoke of confessional despotism." In his *Mitteilungen aus dem Paedagogenkongress* Director Lueben exclaims: "How strange that we still give preference to oriental stories for the moral religious training of our children, as if our German people had nothing to offer that would prove just as useful." In his book: *Der Religionsunterricht in der Volksschule* of 1870 he emphatically condemns the use of the Catechism in the school because it is a confession of faith and as such, cannot, in his judgment, be understood by children. In 1870 K. Richter wrote his *Die Emanzipation der Schule von*

*der Kirche und die Reform des Religionsunterrichts in der Schule,* in which he lays down the following requirements: "No religious facts or truths should be taught in the school which might interfere with the natural development of religion based upon personal conviction, and which is out of place in an educational institution for all, and which is not in agreement with science and the modern point of view in general." Consequently he has no room for the Catechism. In his book *Ist der Religionsunterricht in der Schule eine paedagogische Notwendigkeit?* (Berlin 1870), W. Fricke went even a step farther, he flatly denied any such need.

These opponents of the Catechism, however, did not prevail, not even in Prussia, where they were strongest, and even in spite of Diesterweg the *Regulative* of 1854 was issued there, which assigned to the Catechism a definite place in the school, and despite the opposition of Diesterweg, Schultze, Lueben, Richter, and Fricke, Prussia introduced the *Allgemeine Bestimmungen* in 1872, which, even though with slight modification, only confirmed its place in the school.

In the *Regulative* of 1854 we read: "Luther's Catechism must be understood by all children in its literal sense, they must be able to recite it correctly and with proper expression. So-called catechizations on doctrines or Scripture passages should not be given in the elementary school." "The chief task of the teacher is to develope the material assigned to the various grades in such a manner that the children are able to grasp and make it their own. This task requires not so much the art of catechization as it does that of story telling, of concrete presentation, clear recapitulation of the main thoughts, of questioning, and the example of a personal life of faith, which even without great human art or accomplishment is able to create conviction and life in things divine." The school to which the *Regulative* here refers is the Evangelical *Volksschule,* which corresponds to our primary and grammar school. The *Allgemeine Bestimmungen in Preussen* of October 15, 1872 formulated the object and aim of evangelical religious instruction in these words: "The object of evangelical religious instruction is to give the children a knowledge of holy Scripture and of the faith of the church in order to enable

them to read the Scriptures with intelligence and to take an active part in the life and worship of the congregation." For the instruction in the Catechism the *Bestimmungen* laid down the following directives: "Knowledge of the church's faith is best imparted by explaining her catechism with the help of Bible stories, Bible passages, hymns or hymn stanzas. Care must be taken, however, not to burden the memory unduly. As a rule special classes for instruction in the Catechism should not be held except in the higher grades (seventh and eighth) in a *Volksschule* with one or two teachers, and in schools with more classes, not until the intermediate grades (fifth and sixth). At most two hours should be set aside for this purpose. Where Luther's Catechism is taught in the school, only the first three Chief Parts should as a rule be used as part of the course of study in a *Volksschule*. In the lower grade the text of the Ten Commandments and of the Lord's Prayer, in the intermediate grade, the first two Chief Parts of the Small Catechism together with Luther's explanation, and in the higher grade the third Chief Part should be taught. The explanation of the other parts of the Catechism is left to Confirmation instruction."

These directions naturally lead to the question: How was the Catechism used in the period since the revival of the religious life? that is, What material was used? What place was assigned to the Catechism in the whole religious instruction? and What method was used in teaching it?

What material was used in teaching the Catechism? Rationalism had demanded that the material, or subject matter that is taught in Catechism instruction should be simplified, by eliminating all specifically theological material and by retaining only what was purely religious and moral in character. We know that as a result religious instruction became so emasculated that few distinctly Christian truths remained. And yet we hailed this distinction between theology and religion as a valuable asset for religious instruction. Now what attitude did the church take toward this question since the revival of the religious life? To overcome the superficializing effect of Rationalism she returned to the literature of former periods, to the writings of Luther, and especially to

the writings from the period of orthodoxy and Pietism. It was natural, therefore, that the church should also return to the catechisms of these periods, revise and republish them or write new ones in the spirit they expressed. Gesenius and Walther, Spener, the *Dresdener Kreuzkatechismus,* the *Nuernberger Kinderlehrbuechlein,* the Herford Catechism, Luetkemann, yes, even Dietrich—they all were revived, and the danger arose that the whole system of Christian dogmatics might again be incorporated into the material for catechism instruction, or at least that such instruction might receive a dogmatic character and that thus foreign elements might be carried into Luther's Catechism, and viewpoints, far too doctrinaire, be forced upon it. Unfortunately the church largely succumbed to this danger, the true purpose of the Catechism was suppressed and the lesson in the Catechism was turned into a lesson in popular dogmatics. The Catechism was introduced with a long dissertation on revelation and the Scriptures. Lengthy sections from ethics were taken into the first Chief Part, which was never concluded without an exposition on the threefold use of the Law. The second Chief Part was introduced by a chapter on the Trinity. The first article was treated according to the scheme: Creation, Preservation, Governance. A transition from the first to the second article, treating the fall of man, the nature and the various kinds of sin was supplied from Biblical history. The second article itself was explained under the headings: The Person of Christ, the work of Christ. Every nuance in the order of salvation was forced into the explanation of the Third Article. With such artifices, the life that pulsates through every part of Luther's Catechism was crushed out and the children did not receive the full benefit of its distinctly religious and practical character and purpose. The catechizations of Schuetze and the *Christenlehre* of Zezschwitz certainly do not belong to the poorest work produced in this

period; and yet how much material—valuable in itself, but out of place in the instruction of children—was borrowed from dogmatics and Biblical theology and here forced into the Catechism, which in itself is the very essence of simplicity. It was here that Ritschl's distinction between theology and religion had a wholesome effect. If only Ritschl and his school had grasped the essence of Luther's Catechism and completely placed themselves under its influence! B. Doerries produced an estimable piece of work in his catechism of 1898, one that can give valuable hints to any catechist; and yet how often he replaces old dogmatic theology, not, as he should, with religion, but with the theology of Ritschl. Many religious educators might have arrived at a sounder distinction between theology and religion if they had followed Loehe's footsteps, and had recognized—even more consistently than he—the purpose of instruction in the Catechism to be the explanation of the Catechism itself. Loehe condemned the popular method of overloading Luther's Catechism with foreign material. In the introduction to his Questions and Answers to Luther's Catechism of 1845 he wrote: "These questions are not intended to afford religious knowledge beyond that expressed in the *Enchiridion.* They are merely intended to reveal the rich treasures of religious knowledge that lie contained in the simple words of the text. They unfold the truth exegetically and hence, follow Luther's words closely. The *Enchiridion* contains a mass of concrete and practically useful knowledge, and a congregation that has made the truths contained in Luther's Catechism its spiritual possession might, so far as true culture and cultural possibilities are concerned, be regarded as standing in the front rank." Without knowing of Loehe's words, a teacher in Pomerania, C. F. Brieger, in 1851 advocated the same principle. In the preface to his *Versuch einer biblisch-sachlichen und sprachlichen Erklaerung des Kleinen Lutherischen Katechismus* he

wrote: "The first task (after the period of Rationalism) was: to gain recognition for Luther's excellent Catechism; now the second task is this: to investigate its true meaning and to prepare an exposition that fully explains it, by affording an exact interpretation of every word of Luther's text." In executing his plan, however, Brieger did not always fulfil the requirements he himself had laid down. In his exposition of the individual words he often lost sight of the organic unity and the architectonic construction of Luther's explanation. In 1870 it was again a plain teacher, J. A. Meier of Erdmannsdorf in Silesia, who in his work of teaching came to the conclusion that the teacher can find joy in teaching the Catechism and lead to faithful adherence to it in life on the part of the pupil only by unfolding the glory of the Catechism itself, by pointing out its excellent construction, by revealing the wisdom and wealth of meaning contained in its words." (*Katechismusfreude oder Luthers Kleiner Katechismus durch sich selbst erklaert,* Breslau, 1870, preface). His booklet, it is true, was not altogether free from artificialities, but it reaffirmed an important truth. This truth was next taken up by Superintendent Muenchmeyer in Hannover and set forth in 1876 in his explanation of the second Chief Part, and nine years later in his explanation of the whole Catechism. In the preface he writes: "In this booklet I have endeavored to prepare a catechetical treatment of the second Chief Part which does not enlarge on the text, but which has grown out of the text. The Catechism, and especially the second Chief Part, is too good to be used as a mere textbook; it is a bit of life born from God which must first be carefully received into the inmost heart and thoroughly assimilated in order to be reproduced. That our Catechism has frequently enough been regarded as a mere compendium of doctrine may already be seen from this one fact that Luther's master stroke in relating God's acts of

grace to the confessor, is rarely made use of, simply because it contains no "doctrine." Even as a textbook the Catechism is not used as it should be. How rarely, for instance, does a teacher show that the words: "I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord," not only grammatically but also logically contain the central truth in the explanation of the second article." In his scholarly *Katechetische Bausteine* Leopold Schultze advocates the same principle when as the first step in a fruitful treatment of the Catechism he demands a clear and careful analysis of Luther's explanation. It was only after these men had made their contributions that the disciples of Ritschl appeared on the scene and insisted that Luther's intention in the Catechism was to teach religion and not theology: Gottschick in his lecture *Luther als Katechet* (1883), Bornemann in his *Auslegung des ersten Artikels* (1893), B. Doerries in his explanation of the Catechism (1898), and especially v. Rohden in a number of essays and other writings (esp. *Ein Wort zur Katechismusfrage,* 1889). For the use of the catechist this principle has been put into practice most successfully by Theodor Kaftan in his *Auslegung des Lutherischen Katechismus* (1st ed. 1892; 7th ed. 1926) mentioned above; and for the use of the pupil, perhaps most consistently by the author in his *Erklaerung des Kleinen Katechismus Luthers* (Chicago 1904) which since 1904 has been circulated in more than 125,000 copies.

Also the position of the Catechism in religious instruction was changed in this period since the 1850's. Today no one would think of teaching religion on the basis of the Catechism in the upper grades of the *Gymnasium* or any higher institution of learning; although in some instances it was done even after 1850 in Europe, and in America, even long after it was discontinued there. It was rarely used even in the lower grade of the *Elementarschule,* and wherever this was the case, its use was restricted to the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and

the Lord's Prayer. It was used, however, as the basis for religious instruction in the two upper classes of the *Volksschule,* and in many cases even there, only the first three Chief Parts were made a part of the course of study, just as the *Allgemeine Bestimmungen* of 1872 had prescribed. In addition to this it was used in confirmation instruction, the entire Catechism in some localities, and only the Fourth and Fifth Chief Part in others. Sometimes its use was continued in the *Christenlehre* held on Sunday, which the confirmed were required to attend for a number of years. There were a number of circumstances that led the church to omit the Catechism in the lower grade and to use it only in part in the higher grades: Pedagogical and didactic conclusions at which the church no doubt would have arrived (cf. Francke and Rambach) even apart from the contributions of the Philanthropists and the Socratics; the reconstruction of the whole system of education which established and required the daily attendance of every child from six to thirteen years of age; and the new emphasis placed on the teaching of Biblical History. Biblical History had been taught even before the Reformation; but it often consisted merely in the reading of the Gospel pericopes (cf. the author's *Quellen,* Part II; the author's Catechetics, p. 93; Fr. Seefeldt, *Zur Entstehung des biblischen Geschichtsunterrichts im Protestantismus,* Chicago, 1924); in the seventeenth century it was fostered by Justus Gesenius in Gotha; in 1714 Huebner wrote his textbook of Biblical History; Francke's and Rambach's pupils, as well as E. V. Loescher encouraged it; Hecker's *Landschul-Reglement* of 1763 helped to make it popular. But it was only the revival of the religious life after the age of Rationalism that gave it the place of first importance in religious instruction which it enjoys to the present day. And this interest in Biblical History was only natural; for while Rationalism had regarded the Bible merely as a compendium of moral truths, a code of worthy rules of life, the

revival of the religious life again established its true character as history, sacred history, history of the accomplishment, application, and consummation of redemption for the human race. Especially Hofmann of Erlangen emphasized this. Dogmatic and pedagogical considerations moved the church to give it a place of equal importance beside the Catechism in religious instruction, and to assign it much earlier in the course of study than the Catechism. It was not neglect of, or even contempt for the Catechism, it was the nature and relation of the material of religious instruction (Catechism and Biblical History), and the nature of the child that made this change necessary.

This leads us to the question of method in religious instruction; for the question of method is, as von Rohden rightly said, largely a question regarding the relation of the Catechism and Biblical History. The Socratic method that had come in vogue during the age of Rationalism unfolded the subject by means of the didactic conversation. What attitude did the church take toward this method after the revival of the religious life? Having repudiated Rationalism itself, many regarded even this method of Rationalism with suspicion, and hesitated to use it in religious instruction. Since they had turned back to the literature and faith of a former period, it was but natural that they also adopted the methods of religious instruction employed in that age, merely declaring the religious truth authoritatively, then reviewing it with the help of analytic questioning, confirming it with a Scripture passage, illustrating it by means of a story from daily life, and thus fixing it indelibly upon the memory. Even Loehe had nothing more than this in mind when he wrote the preface to his catechism, and the Prussian *Regulativ* of 1854 demanded very little more. While illustrations from Biblical History were used in teaching the Catechism (esp. Jaspis 1850), very little progress was made beyond the method in vogue in Joachimsthal as early

as 1574 (I 2, 689 ff.); for these illustrations were never fully utilized, still less were they employed as sources from which the truths of the Catechism were drawn. Some religious educators realized that the Socratic method contained an element of truth that must not be given up in religious instruction, namely that the teacher must not only declare the truth, ask the pupil to repeat it, analyze, and then prove and illustrate it, the pupil all the while merely receiving what the teacher gives; but that the teacher must unfold the truth with the help of the pupil by means of the didactic conversation, and that in this manner the pupil must be trained to independent thinking. Especially Harnisch never grew weary of repeating these principles of instruction. In his *Entwuerfe und Stoffe zu Unterredungen ueber den Katechismus Luthers* of 1834, written from the standpoint of Scriptural faith, he created a perfect counterpart of the rationalist Dinter's *Unterredungen*. "Much as my work," says Harnisch "differs from that of Dinter in content, it aspires to be like it in regard to the method of instruction." Kraussold advocated this method; in 1843 he published Dinter's *Katechetische Regeln* in an altered edition. Walcher contended for something similar in his *Katechetik fuer Volksschullehrer* (Breslau 1843), as also did Palmer in his Catechetics of 1844—even though the chapters on method are not the best part of this valuable work. J. Nissen followed in 1852 with his widely used *Unterredungen*. As the best work of this period Zezschwitz regards the *Entwuerfe und Katechesen* of the Saxon seminary director Schuetze (1865-1868), which we elsewhere only criticized for the fact that they are overburdened with material from dogmatics.

If the truth that is to be taught must be developed by means of the didactic conversation, what shall be the starting point? Harnisch began with "experiences from daily life, the contemplation of God's visible works, narratives from Scriptures," without arriving at a uniform and satisfactory method.

Brieger, whose aim was to lead his pupils to a full understanding of the Catechism text, proceeded from the meaning of the words of the text as they are used elsewhere in literature and Scriptures. In his *Entwurf einer entwickelnden Katechismuslehre* (1860), J. Crueger took the Scripture passage as his point of departure, because, as he said, only in this way could the *Formalprinzip* of the Reformation come into its own. He wrote: "To adduce Scripture passages in support of the text of the Catechism, after this has been discussed, presupposes doubt in the correctness of what the Catechism teaches, and, since such passages are, for lack of time, not carefully explained, it confirms such doubt." This method, however, (especially the type recommended by Crueger, see example below) offered little for the imagination, the feeling, and will of the pupil, and nothing for the practical life. It was too abstract, too purely intellectual, too far removed from the sphere of the pupil's imagination and experience. Not only did it fail to arouse his interest and warm his heart, but it also easily encouraged the opinion that the Bible is nothing more than a code of doctrines which the believer must accept without question. And such an opinion tended to destroy, rather than to awaken and nourish, that delight in the Scriptures which to create and to encourage is the purpose of religious instruction.

A decided improvement in the method of religious instruction was achieved by G. v. Zezschwitz and those educators who, more or less independently, followed the path which he blazed in theory and practice. Zezschwitz was at heart in agreement with the truth of Scripture; for the method of religious instruction, however, he went back to Dinter; he rejected every method save that of developing the truth by means of the didactic conversation and stressed the importance of creating clear concepts and exact definitions. He became the father of the Biblical scientific catechization (*Kunstkatechese*) in

which the teacher and pupil by questions and answers arranged in logical sequence arrive at a number of related conclusions which are then combined in the final theme, which is an exact and comprehensive statement of the Catechism truth to be taught (cf. his Model Catechization on the Ninth and Tenth Commandments, *Katechetik* II, 2, p. 562 ff., and his *Christenlehre* 3 vols., 1883-1888). It cannot be denied that in this manner the co-operation of the pupils was secured in a rare degree, that they were trained to independent thinking, and that they acquired accurate religious knowledge. But it is also true that Zezschwitz overloaded his catechizations with material foreign to the Catechism, with material borrowed from Biblical theology and dogmatics; that he over-emphasized the work of logical deduction; that he neglected to observe sufficiently the principle of intuition; that, in consequence, he failed to reach the pupil's emotion and will; that he expected too much of the pupil; and that he gave the pupil too little opportunity to give free and unhindered expression to his own thoughts.

In his excellent book, *Gedanken ueber den Religionsunterricht* (1st ed. before 1870, p. 83), Schueren, the distinguished educator, laid down this noteworthy rule: "The lesson from the Catechism is linked with the Bible story, grows, as it were, out of it;" and Kehr in his *Praxis der Volksschule* (p. 148) writes: "The truth from the Catechism must lean on the Bible story, so that the pupil can see how the Catechism grew out of Scriptures. Kahle in his widely circulated treatise for advanced students and teachers: *Der Kleine Katechismus Luthers anschaulich, kurz und einfach erklaert* (13th ed. 1897), Voelker in his *Praeparationen fuer den Katechismusunterricht* (2nd ed. 1884), and Schaarschmidt in his essay: *Zum Katechismusunterricht auf der Oberstufe der Volksschule,* printed in *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung* (1886), all wrote in a similar vein. They not only demanded that Biblical History

must precede the Catechism in the course of study, but that each individual catechism truth must be unfolded from a certain Bible story as its source. Kahle's words are enlightening: "In our century it was especially Jaspis who demanded that the Catechism must be illustrated by narratives from Holy Scriptures. Later expounders of the Catechism, at least those who understood the needs of the people, followed him. To each truth in the Catechism they now, as a rule, added a list of all the Bible stories that might somehow be used to illustrate it. As these expounders, however, adhered to the old method of explaining the Catechism without utilizing the Bible stories, a method of religious instruction came into vogue in which the Bible story lost its specific value and function as a means of concrete illustration. After the sentence that had been taught in the Catechism lesson had been drilled, the teacher added: 'We see this also from the experience of Absolom, Sheba, Ahab and Jezebel, David, and Herod.' While, according to the old method of employing the Scripture passage, the teacher simply said, 'That this is true, is proved from this passage from Scripture', he now closed the lesson by saying, 'We see this also from the example'. But as little as anything had been 'proved' to the pupils according to the old method, so little did they really 'see' according to this new procedure. But the most important thing in any kind of instruction is to make the pupil able to 'see', to 'behold', to visualize; for visualization, or intuition, is not only the only basis for all perception and knowledge, but also the only means of influencing the emotion and the will. For this reason I assign such an important place to the Biblical illustration in teaching the Catechism that I make it the basis for the lesson, place it at the beginning, and do not merely refer to it, but make use of it to the fullest extent, so that the children can 'see' the truth it sets forth." Kahle can hardly have arrived at this method entirely uninfluenced by the Herbart-Ziller

school of pedagogy. This school was the source of movements that attempted to reduce the method of religious instruction to an exact science. Since, however, they frequently led to the demand for the removal of Luther's Catechism from the *Volksschule,* or from religious instruction as such, we reserve it for discussion in the last chapter.

Brieger, e. g., suggests the following procedure as an explanation of the term "redemption:" "the root word is emo—to purchase. Inasmuch as the purchase of a human being postulates a condition of slavery, redemption describes the condition of a captive or a slave who has been purchased for the purpose of restoring him to liberty; the prefix "re" designating a return to the condition preceding the state of captivity. He who requires redemption is, as it were, in a state of slavery, he does not enjoy freedom of movement. Holy Scriptures agree with this use of the word; for whenever it speaks of a power from which redemption is to be made, it is always one that cramps and imprisons, such as an enemy, distress, sin (Ps. 18:4; 102:20; 130:8). "By using this method" Brieger thinks, "the concept is built up, as it were, before the very eyes of the pupil and is impressed so much more indelibly upon his soul because of the part he himself took in erecting the structure."—In his *Entwurf einer entwickelnden Katechismuslehre* (1860; 1889) Crueger explains the words "with all cheerfulness and confidence" in the Introduction to the Lord's Prayer as follows: "According to the words of Luther's explanation dear children ask their dear Father with all cheerfulness and confidence. We are reminded of Romans 8:15: Ye received not the spirit of bondage again to fear . . . Abba, Father (8th Trin. S.). We have received a child-like heart which moves us to pray: Dear Father. We have not received the heart of a servant, a slave; a slave fears that his master will inflict some evil upon him. When he asks anything of his master he is afraid that his master will harm him on account of his petition. He who fears that harm will befall him on account of his petition does not pray cheerfully. We pray cheerfully when we are not fearful of harm as a result of our petition. The dear children ask their dear Father not only with cheerfulness, but also with all confidence (1 John 5:14: This is the confidence that we have in Him, that, if we ask anything according to His will, He heareth us). We have the cheerful confidence, the joyful faith, that God will hear our prayer. We pray to God with cheerful confidence that our prayers will be heard.

This cheerful faith is the confidence we should have when we pray. Accordingly, we pray with all confidence when we pray in the joyful faith that our prayers are heard. Faith in the love of the heavenly Father moves us so to pray."—In his Catechetics II 2, 562 ff. G. v. Zezschwitz furnishes a detailed catechization on the new feature in which the 9th and 10th commandments go beyond the other commandments. For lack of space we can give only part of it here. He first explains of what this new element does not consist, namely not merely in the commandment not to covet. Then he continues: "That it does not consist in the particular goods mentioned, we can see from the very words of the commandment. With what words does the 10th commandment close?—How do you call an expression in which the speaker wishes to include everything in a class even though it is not expressly named? In what way are the goods designated here? They are referred to in a general way. Whose goods are they all?—Which is therefore the most important word in these commandments?—Which goods shall we never covet?—These goods are named in a general way. In what sense, therefore, is also this commandment meant?—Of what does the whole second table of the law treat?—How does Paul speak of love? What does it not do to the neighbor?—Romans 12: 10. What does he seek who loves his neighbor? Whose advantage, however, will he seek who covets that which is his neighbor's? What does he begrudge his neighbor?—Against what commandment then has he sinned? We said above that the commandment is stated in general terms. Can you tell me against what sins in general, it is directed? Still, we can name one particular fault to which it refers. The Lord says: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'. By what love accordingly, shall our love to our neighbor be measured?—Then you may love yourself?—Yes, children, you may love yourselves. If you were not concerned over your own welfare and that of your souls you would not work to secure it. When a child deserves and receives punishment, the father says, 'Think of your own welfare'. What love then is no fault?—What love does the Lord measure by the love for self?—What love therefore, agrees with love for one's neighbor?—But think of how Ahab acted in dealing with Naboth.—That was not love for self. Naboth died innocent and suffered no eternal harm; but what harm did Ahab inflict upon his own soul?—Which love did he, therefore, not show for his own soul?—Love for self, then is not the sin against which these commandments are directed. Everything that deserves to be called love is right, and holy, and good. But we do not even call that love for self when a person thinks only of himself and not of

the neighbor. Do you know how we call the praise that a person gives to himself? Self-satisfied people do that? We might call it false love for self. How then do we call the love of that person who always wants only his own goods and virtues loved and praised? We call it selfish love. Of course, that is not true love. Now we have already found the companion-sin of the fault for which we are looking. Tell me how do we call the fault of one who continually harbors desires of revenge in his heart? Revengefulness.—And how do we call such an intense desire? A passion.—Almost everything we call 'a passion' is diseased and evil. And now, can you name the fault we have in mind? What kind of passion moves him who thinks only of himself and passionately desires to possess everything?—The passion of selfishness is the root-sin and far more vicious than its companion-sin selfish love. What love is not opposed to love of the neighbor?—But what is the very opposite of love for the neighbor? Now look at these commandments. For whom does the transgressor covet home, man servant, maid servant, and cattle?—The selfish man desires to have everything for himself. Now you know why so many things are enumerated here. What does that suggest?—The sin against the 5th commandment could be called the passion of revenge. How could we call the sin against the 7th commandment?—Good, the passion of avarice. Again a passion. Other similar sins are named after the pleasure they promise. What is the root sin against the 6th commandment called? (carnal pleasure).—Whose joy, however, does he seek who craves carnal pleasures?—What is the root sin here?—Now compare avarice and revengefulness with selfishness. How then can you call selfishness when you compare it with all the sins we have mentioned?—Which table of the law prohibits all these sins? Against what is this table of the law directed?—Selfishness then is the root of which sins?—You will remember that in discussing the other commandments we spoke of different root sins. Think, for example, of the 6th commandment. Excessive eating and drinking makes the flesh sensual. How then do we call the mind and life of such pleasure loving people?—What then is gluttony to sensual sins?—Just so envy is the root sin in the 7th commandment. But how did we call selfishness a moment ago? What therefore, is the source of all these different roots?—The source or root of all sins against love for the neighbor, is selfishness. Against what sins then are the 9th and 10th commandments directed?—And how do they teach us to look upon selfishness?—The 9th and 10th commandments are directed against selfishness as the root of all sins against love for the neighbor."—This is the "first positive result" or conclu-

sion. The second, at which Zezschwitz arrives in the same logical manner is: "The 9th and 10th commandments are directed also against the evil lust as the root of all sins, and therefore they represent the essence of the whole law." See also Schmarje, *Das katech. Lehrverfahren auf psychologischer Grundlage,* 2nd ed. 1892; Thraendorf, *Die Kunstkatechese* (in the 9th Year Book of the *Verein fuer wissenschaftliche Paedagogik*). There is much truth in v. Rohden's words on the scientific catechization (*Kunstkatechese*): "As in the game of croquet, the player with many a stroke and counterstroke drives the ball to its narrow goal through the hoops that have been fixed in their place beforehand, thus the able scientific catechist uses numerous questions, and whenever the child's fancy goes astray, even more questions to drive the thoughts of the pupil through the previously determined iron doors of his own argumentation on to the clearly designated goal, the truth or definition which the teacher has in mind or which the book suggests."

# 12. Luther's Small Catechism in the United States of America

HOW DID Luther's Catechism come into the new world, the United States of America? In 1623 the *Dutch colonization* began. The great majority of the Dutch settlers belonged to the Reformed Church, but there were also Lutherans among them. They brought with them their catechism that is, Luther's Small Catechism, together with the *Little Corpus Doctrinae* by Ligarius and the questions for communicants by Adolph Vischer (cf. above). A copy of the edition they used is still extant. Printed at Amsterdam in 1671, it later became the property of the father of Rev. Jacob Van Buskirk, in whose house at Hackensack the patriarch Muehlenberg found such a warm welcome. It contains Luther's Preface, the Five Chief Parts together with the Office of the Keys and Confession, the Prayers, and the Table of Duties, the *Corpus Doctrinae,* Vischer's Questions, and the 20 Christian Questions for communicants, attributed to Luther. A later edition still extant (Amsterdam, Hendric Bosch, 1727), is an exposition of Luther's Small Catechism in 410 questions and answers, including the whole text of Luther. Justus Falckner's Dutch catechism was printed in America (Nieuw-York, by W. Bradfordt, 1708), but this was an independent work, not based upon Luther.

In 1638 the *Swedish colonization* began. These and later settlers brought with them the edition of Luther's Small Catechism which at that time was in common use in Sweden, that is Rudbeck's of 1628, later that of Paulinus Gothus, 1641, still later that of O. Swebilius, 1689. In 1696 the mother church of

Sweden sent 300 copies, in 1747 200, and doubtless more at other times. The edition of Suebilius contained Luther's text and a further explanation. The title was: *Enfaldig Foerklaring Oefwer Lutheri Lilla Catechismum, staelt genom Spoersmal och Swar. Upsala hos Henich Keyser* 1689. In 1643 Campanius arrived from Sweden. He dedicated the first Lutheran church in this country and, in the interest of missions, translated Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Delaware Indians. It is true it was not printed until 1696, but the manuscript was ready in 1648, and so it is actually the oldest literary document in any of the aboriginal languages of America. The title was: *Lutheri Catechismus, Ofwersatt Pa American Virginske Spraket. Stockholm. Anno M. D. C. XCVI.* It contains a preface in Swedish; then follow the Five Chief Parts, with the Office of the Keys and Confession between the Fourth and Fifth, the Prayers and the Table of Duties. Each section is given first in Delaware, followed by a close verbal translation of the same in Swedish and then the standard Swedish text. About 1750 English became the language of the Swedes on the Delaware as well as of the Dutch on the Hudson.

The *German Settlers* like the Dutch and Swedish also brought their catechisms with them from their mother church. As these differed in every province, Muehlenberg in 1747 could write: "I could find in my congregations more than fifty different kinds of catechisms and hymn-books which the people brought with them." And of the pastors he writes in 1745: "One pastor adopts his own plan, another uses the Wuerttemberg Catechism, the third that of Giessen, and a fourth the Holstein Catechism." No wonder, that he wanted a uniform catechism for all congregations, printed either in Germany or in America. At that time Count Zinzendorff had caused Luther's Small Catechism to be printed. But it did not appear until after he had returned to Europe. Its

title was, *Der Kleine Katechismus D. Martin Luthers, mit Erlaeuterungen, herausgegeben zum Gebrauch der Lutherischen Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien. Germantown, Gedruckt bey Christopher Sauer,* 1744. It contained the Chief Parts of Luther's Catechism with the Office of the Keys numbered as the fifth. Since the questions and answers interspersed between the parts of Luther's text were strongly marked by Zinzendorff's peculiar views and phraseology, this edition could be used but little by Lutheran pastors. In 1748 the Pennsylvania Ministerium was founded. It consisted of six pastors and ten congregations. In order to give this new body a uniform catechism Peter Brunnholtz, a member, as early as 1749 edited, and Benjamin Franklin and J. Boehm of Philadelphia printed, what in its principal parts, became the form of catechism used in the Ministerium and far beyond it for more than a hundred years. It is true, we have only seen the title, and this in a very abbreviated form; its reads, *Der Kleine Catechismus des seligen D. M. Luthers. Phila. B. Franklin und J. Boehm,* 1749; but since this edition was exhausted in a few months and a new edition printed by Sauer in 1752 contains exactly the same parts which we find in all later editions approved by the Synod, the print of 1752 is hardly anything more than a reprint of the catechism of Brunnholtz of 1749. Sauer's edition had this title: *Der kleine Catechismus des seligen Dr. Martin Luthers, nebst den gewoehnlichen Morgen-, Tisch- und Abendgebeten. Wobei die Ordnung des Heils in einem Liede, in kurtzen Saetzen, in Frag und Antwort und in einer Tabelle, wie auch der Inhalt der heilig. Schrift in Versen hinzugfueget, zum Gebrauch der Jugend. Nebst einem Anhang der 7 Buss Psalmen, einem geistlichen Liede und das ein mal eins. Germantown, Gedruckt und zu haben bey Christoph Sauer,* 1752. This edition contains, besides Luther's text: 1. Ziegenhagen's *Glaubenslied; 2.* The Second Order of Salvation in nine short propositions; 3. The Third Order

of Salvation in 169 short and simple questions and answers; 4. Ziegenhagen's Tables, now called Fourth Order of Salvation; 5. The contents of the Holy Scriptures in verses; 6. The seven Penitential Psalms; 7. A hymn; 8. The multiplication table. The first four of these additions remained a part of the Pennsylvania Synod's catechism for more than a hundred years. All four betray the close connection between Muehlenberg and his co-workers with the Pietistic movement in Germany, because in that period these Orders of Salvation originated and began to be added to Luther's Small Catechism. Ziegenhagen, the author of the first and fourth addition, was the well-known German chaplain of the Royal Chapel in London (1722-1777), who in 1734 had circulated an appeal in Germany in behalf of the spiritual needs of the Germans in Pennsylvania and had been partly instrumental in sending Muehlenberg to this country and who remained a life-long friend and spiritual father of the American congregations. He had been a diligent reader of Spener's writings. The author of the third addition was not Freylinghausen, as is often stated, but Christopher Starcke, who had studied at Berlin and Halle and later (1733-1744) published his well-known *Synopsis,* or commentary on the Old and New Testament. As early as 1747, Muehlenberg says that he examined his catechumens in the *Order of Salvation,* which title is given preeminently to what is here called the Third Order. The catechism of 1749 (or 1752) was favorably received by the congregations. On September 12, 1753, Muehlenberg wrote to a friend in Germany: "A Catechism has been compiled by us and printed here in Philadelphia which is used in nearly all our united congregations."

In 1782 the Ministerium resolved to publish a somewhat altered edition. Among other changes, it provided that the Wuerttemberg *Konfirmanden-Buechlein* (on the basis of Osiander's *Booklet for Communicants* of 1590 and J. V.

Andreae's *Instruction for Children* of 1621) which had apparently been added to the Catechism by some printers, might be added, but that its citations from the Small Catechism should be made to conform with the official text. This revised and enlarged form is still extant in the edition of 1787: *Der kleine Catechismus des Sel. D. Martin Luthers. Nebst den gewoehnlichen Morgen- Tisch- and Abend-Gebeten. Welchen die Ordnung des Heils in einem Liede, in kurzen Saetzen, in Frag und Antwort und in einer Tabelle, Wie auch eine Zergliederung des Catechismus, das Wuerttembergische Kurze Kinder-Examen, Die Confirmation und Beichte beygefueget, und etliche Lieder, Freylinghausens Ordnung des Heils, das Gueldene A B C fuer Kinder und die Sieben Buss-Psalmen angehaenget sind. Zum Gebrauch der Jungen und Alten. Erste Auflage Philadelphia und Lancaster,* 1787. The Ministerium in 1787 resolved, that this edition should be generally introduced and, so far as possible, remain unaltered. It was, in fact, printed in many editions and used more and more, not only in the Ministerium, but also in most of the synods and congregations of the General Synod. We mention only a few editions: Chestnut Hill, by Samuel Sauer, 1792; Pittsburgh, published by *Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, Fraenklin Kopf Buchstohr, in der Markt, zwischen der Front und Zweyten Strasse, Gedruckt bey Robert Ferguson & Co.* (without date; a copy of this edition, as well as that of Chestnut Hill, are in my library); Germantown, 1801; Philadelphia, by Schweitzer, 1804, by Cist, 1805, by Mentz, 1811; by Carlisle, 1808; Lancaster, 1839; Sunnytown, 1849; Henry Ludwig in New York also published a number of editions.

In 1850 the Ministerium appointed a committee to examine the various German editions of the Catechism, of which "several distinct, and in some respects different, editions had been introduced into the church." In 1854, when the English translation was presented, the synod directed "that the

German Catechism be printed with the same alterations which are found in the improved English translation, so that the only difference existing between the two be in the language." Under these instructions the authorized German edition was issued in 1857, printed by Enos Benner at Sunnytown, later by Brobst, Diehl Co. of Allentown. In this edition of 1857 we have the same contents as in that of 1787: Luther's Chief Parts, and then the *Belehrende und erbauende Zusaetze:* (1) The four Orders of Salvation; (2) the analysis of the Catechism; (3) the Wuerttemberg Examen, Confirmation and Confession. These three parts are followed by a few songs, Freylinghausen's Order of Salvation, a list of Books of Scriptures, and the Augsburg Confession, which was added by order of Synod. The Golden A B C, the Penitential Psalms and the Multiplication Table are omitted. When the *Kirchenbuch* of the General Council was published (1877), the Small Catechism was included on the basis of the editions of 1539 and 1542, "any departure from which was accepted only when sustained by consent of earlier editions and approved by general acceptance of the Church since then." So the Office of the Keys was excluded, and the three questions on Confession inserted between Baptism and Lord's Supper, the form of Confession, however, (*Lieber, stelle mir eine kurze Weise zu beichten*), was omitted, because all the Orders for such acts were to be in another part of the book. This text of the *Kirchenbuch* became the official text for the churches of the General Council.

Besides these catechisms, originally published for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but circulated also in most of the other Lutheran Synods of the East, there was an edition prepared in 1787 by Professor John Caspar Velthusen of Helmstaedt in Germany and edited at the request of Pastor Nuessmann, who had been sent to care for the Lutherans in Mecklenburg County in North Carolina. Many copies were

sent over from Germany. These were followed by *Lehrbuecher fuer die Jugend in Nord Carolina* two of which were an exposition of doctrine, but not based upon Luther's Small Catechism. They did not influence the text of the Catechism used in America, but here we find, for the first time, the sections on the "Duties towards God, self, and the neighbor" that we find in some American catechisms in the following decades, e. g., in Kunze's catechism of 1795. Velthusen adhered to the doctrines of the Trinity, the eternal Sonship of Christ, the Virgin Birth, and the vicarious atonement, but in his statements concerning the appropriation of salvation, in terminology and subject matter, he makes concessions to the prevailing Rationalism.

Another edition of Luther's Catechism was prepared by Paul Henkel and issued in 1811 by Ambrose Henkel & Co., at New Market, Va., which was largely circulated in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. It contained the Five Chief Parts and the Office of the Keys and Confession, and the text is altered only by breaking up Luther's explanations into several parts by the insertion of additional questions. In the edition of David Henkel from the press of Solomon Henkel in 1829 the text is reprinted verbatim from the standard Pennsylvania edition, to which a number of hymns and prayers are added. Also the edition of C. Weyl (later by T. N. Kurtz), approved by the Synod of West Pennsylvania in 1845 is virtually a reprint of the old Pennsylvania catechism, with nearly the same addenda. These are followed by the Formula of Government (of the General Synod) and the Twenty-one Articles of the Augsburg Confession. Henry Ludwig, in New York, whose editions for many years followed the Pennsylvania text, later tried to reproduce the original text of Luther, but he did not follow any one edition between 1529 and 1546 nor the text in the Concordia.

When, in the 19th century, the new immigration set in from all parts of Europe, the Lutherans again brought with them the catechisms which they had used in their native country. We mention only those that were used for decades, beginning with the German: The old *Kreuzkatechismus,* originally published in 1688 by the pastors of the *Kreuzkirche* at Dresden; the *Stohlmann* catechism, that is, the *Michael Walther* catechism, originally published in 1651 for the northern part of Hannover and revised by Luehrs and others in 1862, reprinted by Stohlmann in New York, the catechism of C. Dietrich, originally published in 1613, when Dietrich was professor at Giessen, then epitomized in 1627, and widely used during the 17th and 18th century; the *Herford* catechism, originally published in 1690 at Herford in Westphalia; the *Mecklenburg* catechism, originally published in 1717; in some congregations also *Irmischer's* catechism, based on Spener of 1677; *Pauli's* catechism, based on Gesenius of 1639; *Wendel's* catechism, based on the old catechism for Oels in Silesia, which in turn was based on Mich. Walther of 1651. Original catechisms published in Germany during the 19th century were also introduced: *Wm. Loehe's* catechism of 1845, republished by the Iowa Synod in German and translated into English by Dr. Horn; *H. Caspari's* catechism of 1856, which also was the basis for the explanation of Mann and Krotel, 1863, and others. The Missouri Synod first used the Dresden *Kreuzkatechismus.* This was soon replaced by Dietrich which was for decades the official catechism. That of the Wisconsin Synod was based on the Dresden Cross Catechism. Ohio's is based on Dietrich. When the *Swedes* came in greater numbers, they brought more recent editions of the catechism of Swebilius of 1689 (mentioned above); most of them in the form revised by Lindblom in 1811 who had changed the old Swebilius quite radically, removing also the section on Confession. The *Norwegians* and *Danes* brought

the catechism of Pontoppidan, in public use in their home country since 1737. Compare the following chapter.

After 1750 the descendants of the Dutch and Swedish Lutherans spoke *English,* and thus the need arose for religious instruction in that language. Pioneers like Muehlenberg, Brunnholtz and others, recognized that fact. As early as 1749 Brunnholtz, assisted by Peter Koch, a prominent Swedish Lutheran in Philadelphia, translated Luther's Small Catechism, and together they secured its publication; it is probable that it was printed by Benj. Franklin, from whose press the German Catechism of the same year appeared. There is, it seems, no copy left, but in the Halle Reports, New Edition pp. 526, 670 and 673, we find a letter of Brunnholtz stating: "I have instructed Mr. Schleydorn's son in English and confirmed him. This summer I am preparing Mr. Koch's children in the same language, for which purpose Mr. Koch and I caused Luther's Catechism translated into English to be printed. I am sending two copies." This translation was revised in 1761 under the auspices of Provost Charles Magnus Wrangel and printed by Henry Mueller in Philadelphia (Halle Reports, p. 853). The Tables of Ziegenhagen, that is, the Fourth Order of Salvation, was appended. There seems to be no copy left. Whether Kunze's "The Rudiments of the Shorter Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther, chiefly for the use of the Lutheran Congregations in America, to which is annexed an Abridgement of the Principles of the Evangelical Religion, printed, Philadelphia by M. Steiner 1785", mentioned in H. M. Muehlenberg's diary March 13, 1785, contained a translation of the whole of Luther's Small Catechism, is doubtful. The next English translation of the Small Catechism and the first one of which a copy is still extant, was issued in 1795 by the same Dr. J. C. Kunze. It is appended to his "Hymn and Prayerbook for the use of such Lutheran Churches as use the English Language, New York,

1795." The translator, however, was, according to the preface, not Kunze, but his "worthy assistant in preaching, Mr. Strebeck." It contained the Five Chief Parts, with the section on the Office of the Keys and on Confession at the close, and it had four appendices: 1. Questions and Answers for those who would prepare themselves to go to the Sacrament (those usually attributed to Luther); 2. Fundamental Questions, 103 in number, from an unknown source; 3. Ziegenhagen's "Tabellen," here called "The Order of Salvation in systematical connection;" 4. The Christian Duties (1. towards God and our Lord Jesus Christ; 2. towards ourselves, 3. towards others). Fully half of the English text in this translation had attained the shape in which it was retained for 100 years. Whether Henry E. Muehlenberg's "Companion to the Catechism, or a course of Instruction in the Christian Religion, for the Benefit of the Young" contained a translation of Luther's Small Catechism we do not know. Of still greater importance than Strebeck's translation of 1795, is the one prepared by Dr. Philip F. Mayer, in 1816. We find it in a little book entitled: *Instruction in the Principles and Duties of the Christian Religion, for Children and Youth: Containing 1. Dr. Martin Luther's Short Catechism, translated from the German; 2. Scripture Catechism; 3. The Christian Character and Duties, and the Christian's Comforts and Hopes, expressed in the words of Scripture; 4. A Historical Catechism;* by Dr. Watts, (cf. Reu, Catechetics, 159); *5. The Elements of Religion and Morality, for younger children. 6. To which are added a few Prayers, Philip F. Mayer. Philadelphia: Printed for Daniel Braeutigam. No. 194, North Second Street. Conrad Zentler, Printer. 1816.* The Five Chief Parts alone are given, the Office of the Keys and Confession are omitted. Dr. B. M. Schmucker said in 1886 of Mayer's translation "Nine-tenths of this translation remains today as the accepted and enduring version; not more than one-tenth has been super-

seded in later revisions." Nearly all the following translations are based upon it. In 1825 it was reprinted almost verbatim in the catechism published by Gruber and May at Hagerstown, Md., for the General Synod and remained the official text of that Synod up to 1855. In 1827 or 1829 it was used as the foundation for the translation by David Henkel which remained the official text of the Tennessee Synod till 1867. In 1844 John G. Morris used and revised it in his "Luther's Catechism, illustrated by additional Questions and Answers" which was printed again and again. In 1846 (or earlier) Henry Ludwig of New York reprinted it with a few alterations, and this edition received formal sanction from the Joint Synod of Ohio and was widely circulated in its midst, until Ohio and Missouri, in 1884 brought out a more literal translation. There were other translations not based on Mayer, f. i. that of Paul Henkel that left the press in 1811 and was of great influence in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee until 1829, or that of Dr. Ph. Schaff in his "Creeds of Christendom," vol. 3 pp. 74-93, and others.

As the appreciation of the value and obligation of the Confessions increased in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, a desire was felt for a more accurate translation of the Catechism than that of Mayer. So Dr. C. F. Schaeffer together with C. F. Welden, A. T. Geissenhainer, and B. M. Schmucker were appointed to furnish a new translation. Dr. Schaeffer did the work and then it was revised by the whole committee. The work was based on Mayer. It was ready for the press in 1854, and printed in 1855. This translation became the standard English text within the General Council; it is used in the Church Book, where, however, the Office of the Keys is omitted and the Confession (3 questions) put between Baptism and Lord's Supper, in the Sunday School Book, in all editions published by the Council itself or by the Synods connected with it, as well as in the translations of Dietrich's, Pon-

toppidan's and the Hannover Catechism. What about the contents of these editions? Concerning the text of Luther's Small Catechism we mention only this: In the official text of the General Synod (1825) we find, before the Commandments, five introductory questions, four of which are taken from Lochmann's "Hauptinhalt der christlichen Lehre;" in the first and third Commandment, the whole text of Exodus; foot-notes were added, generally for the purpose of modifying the doctrine of the text; additional matter after Baptism; the Office of the Keys and Confession, however, are omitted, as was done by Mayer; the Prayers have the periphrastic form of Mayer; the Table of Duties has 13 sections. The addenda are these: The Third Order of Salvation in 169 questions, Ziegenhagen's Tables, Questions for those who come to the Lord's Supper, Dr. Isaac Watt's Historical Catechism, and 22 hymns. Ludwig's editions give also the Second Order of Salvation, The Analysis, the Wuerttemberg *Kinderexamen,* Freylinghausen's Order of Salvation, the Augsburg Confession, and 29 hymns and after 1853, still more additions. The standard edition of 1855 by Schaeffer contains the same text and addenda as the German edition of 1857 (cf. above). Between 1888 and 1899 a Joint Committee of the General Synod, United Synod of the South, Joint Synod of Ohio, English Synod of Missouri (which later withdrew) and General Council worked on a revised English translation of Luther's text. The result of its good work (H. E. Jacobs is the principal author) in its final shape is given in the "Lutheran Church Review," January, 1899. But somehow it did not find general favor. The General Synod and the Iowa Synod are the only bodies that officially adopted this translation. Since 1926 another Joint Committee representing all Lutheran Synods outside of the Synodical Conference has been at work making a new translation based on Luther's edition of 1531. It will be given to the public in a few weeks in various editions

of which one will be an illustrated Jubilee edition. We also have explanations of Luther's Small Catechism in English. Besides the older ones of Henkel, Morris, Seiss, Clement Miller, Koons, Wetzel, Roth, Mann and Krotel, the Hannover Catechism (translated by H. E. Jacobs), Dietrich, etc., there are the more recent ones of Schwan, Trabert, Stump, Reu, Ortlepp, and all those mentioned above. There is today no synod that does not possess a translation of its catechism in the English language. Compare the following chapter.

It would be a task interesting as well as profitable to show in detail how Luther's Catechism has been used and is still being used in the United States. We should find a development running parallel to some extent to that in Germany and Scandinavia. We should discover a period during which the religious instruction was given in a way similar to that of Francke and his followers in Germany (about 1740-1800). We should detect that a rationalistic wave then swept over a number of Lutheran congregations in the East (about 1800-1825). Quitman's *Evangelical Catechism,* Hudson 1812 or 1814, is the most prominent example of this movement. But alongside these inroads of Rationalism material created by the later Pietism controlled much of the religious instruction up to the fifties of the 19th century, as is witnessed by the continued use of the "Orders of Salvation" and the Wuerttemberg *Konfirmandenbuechlein* over a period of about a hundred years (1740-1850). Since 1850 and 1860, especially since the foundation of the General Council in the East and the new Lutheran immigration in the West a revival of catechetical instruction took place that followed the lines drawn in Germany and Scandinavia since the revival of the old faith, with this difference, however, that the instruction, perhaps, still more emphasized sound doctrine and made still less use of the method of deduction of the divine truth from Biblical History. Luther's Catechism has frequently been

taught under the most adverse and trying conditions in parochial schools and to confirmation classes poorly housed, in many places beyond description, but with admirable faithfulness, especially in the Middle West of our great country. In many congregations the younger generation has been made *katechismusfest* to a decidedly greater degree than in many parts of their mother churches across the Atlantic. Lindemann's *Schulpraxis* gave valuable hints to many catechists. Gerberding's *The Lutheran Catechist* helped to arouse the consciousness of the English speaking part of our Church to a better fulfilment of the catechetical task. The author's catechism and Horine's *The Catechist's Handbook*—a translation of Kaftan—emphasized the fact that the teacher of Luther's Catechism has to exclude all purely dogmatical material and confine himself to what a Christian needs in life and death, as has been done so admirably by Luther himself. Dr. Mees learned much from Herbart, and the author's Catechetics, together with efforts by Schaller and Kretzmann, endeavor to lead to a method of instruction that is both in full accord with the material given in Luther's Catechism and the nature and development of the child's soul-life.

**The Second Article in Cranmer's Translation of 1548:** I belieue that Jesus Christ, veray God, begotten of God the Father, and verye manne, borne of the Virgin Marie, is my Lorde, whiche by hys precyouse bloode and holy passyon hathe redemed me, a myserable and damned wretch, from all my synnes, frome death eternall and from the tyrannie of the Deuell, that I should be his owne true subiect and lyue within his kyngdome and serue hym in a newe euerlastynge lyfe and iustice, euen as oure Lorde Christe, after he rose from deathe to lyfe, lyueth and raygneth euerlastyngly.—Compare John C. Mattes, *Luther's Small Catechism in the English Translation of Thomas Cranmer, Philadelphia* 1927.

**The Second Article in Strebeck's translation of 1795:** I believe that Jesus Christ, true God begotten of the Father from all eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord; who has redeemed, purchased, and won me, a lost and condemned person, from all sin, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with

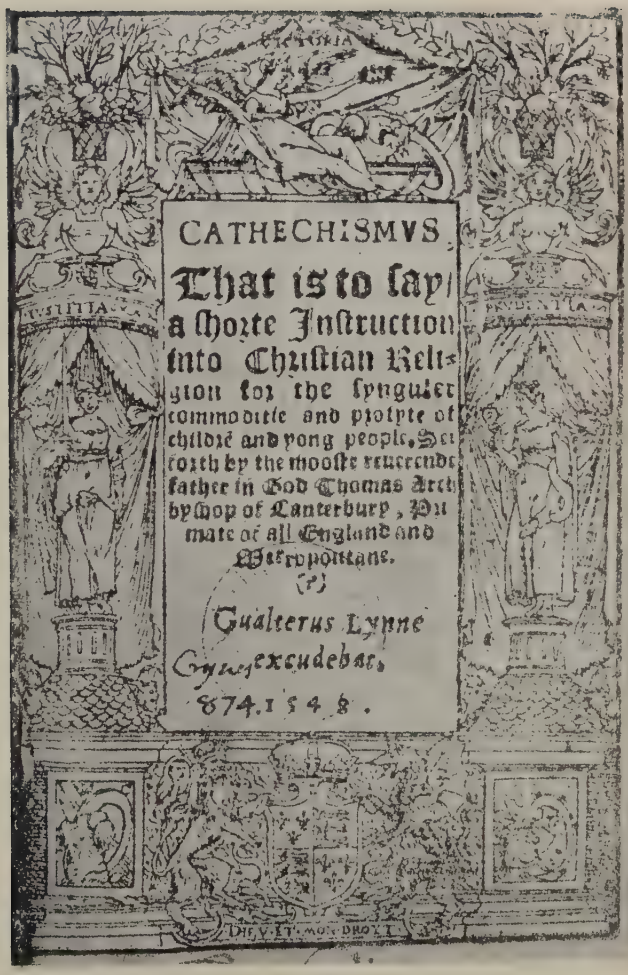


PLATE TWELVE: Title page of Cranmer's English edition of the Nuernberg Catechism Sermons, 1548

gold or silver, but with his holy precious blood, and with his innocent sufferings and death, that I might be his own, live with him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and happiness, even as he is risen from the dead and now lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.—Compare Dr. B. M. Schmucker's article on Luther's Catechism in *The Lutheran Church Review,* 1886, and my own pamphlet: *A New English Translation of Luther's Small Catechism,* Chicago 1926.

**Mayer's Translation of Luther's Small Catechism of 1816.**—*The Ten Commandments.* 1. I Am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.—What is intended by this commandment?—That we should fear, love, and trust in God, above all things.—2. Thou shalt not take . . . his name in vain.—What is required of us in this commandment?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to curse, swear, conjure, lie, or deceive in his name; but call upon him in every time of need, and worship him with prayer, praise, and thanksgiving.—3. Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy.—What is enjoined in this commandment?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to despise his word and the preaching of his gospel, but deem it holy, and willingly hear and learn it.—4. Honour thy Father . . . thy God giveth thee.—What is the signification of this comm.?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to despise or displease our parents or superiors; but honour, serve, obey, love and esteem them.—5. Thou shalt not kill.—What is the purport of this comm.?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to do our neighbour any bodily injury, but rather assist and comfort him in danger or want.—6. Thou . . . adultery.—What do you understand by this commandment?—That we should so fear and love God, as to live chaste and undefiled in words and deeds, and each to love and honour his wife or her husband.—7. Thou shalt not steal.—What is meant by this commandment?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to rob our neighbour of his property, or bring it into our possession by unfair dealing or fraudulent means; but help him to augment and protect it.—8. Thou shalt not . . . thy neighbour.—What is inculcated in this comm.?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to belie, betray, slander, or raise injurious reports against our neighbour; but apologize for him, speak well of him, and put the most charitable construction on all his actions.—9. Thou shalt not covet . . . house.—What is enjoined in this comm.?—That we should so fear and love God, as not to cherish improper desire for the inheritance or estate of our neighbour, or aim at

obtaining it by deceit or the false appearance of a legal right; but be ready to assist and serve him in the preservation of his own.—10. Thou shalt not covet . . . that is thy neighbour's.—What is required in this comm.?—That we should so fear and love God, as not even to wish to seduce our neighbour's spouse, to corrupt or alienate from him his servants, or to force away from him or let loose his cattle; but rather to use our endeavours, that they may continue with, and discharge their duty to him.—What saith the Lord God concerning these commandments? He saith: I the Lord thy God . . . keep my commandments.—What do we learn from this declaration?—God threatens to punish all who transgress these commandments; we should therefore dread his displeasure, and not act contrary to his laws. But he also promises grace and every blessing to all such as obey these laws; we should therefore love and confide in him and cheerfully do what he has commanded us.

*The Articles of The Christian Faith.* Of what does *the first article* treat?—Of the creation.—Rehearse it. I believe in God . . . and earth.—What do you profess to believe in this article?—I believe that God hath created me and all that exists; that he hath given and still preserves to me my body and soul, with all my members and faculties, and all that I have; that he richly and daily provides me with the necessaries and enjoyments of life; that he guards me from danger and preserves me from evil; wholly induced by divine, paternal love and mercy, without any claim of merit or worthiness in me, for all which I am in duty bound to thank, praise, serve, and obey him. This is most certainly true.—Of what does *the second article* treat?—Of our redemption.—Rehearse it.—I believe in Jesus Christ . . . the quick and the dead.—What do you profess to believe in this article?—I believe, that Jesus Christ, true God begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord; who hath redeemed, purchased, and delivered me, a poor, forlorn, condemned person, from sin, from death, and from the power of the devil; not with gold or silver, but with his holy precious blood and with his innocent sufferings and death; in order that I might be his, live under him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and happiness, even as he is risen from the dead, and now lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.—Of what does *the third article* treat?—Of our sanctification.—Rehearse it.—I believe in the Holy Ghost . . . life everlasting.—What do you profess to believe in this article?—I believe, that I cannot, merely by my own reason or other natural powers, believe in

or come to Jesus Christ, my Lord; but that the Holy Spirit hath called me by the gospel, enlightened me by his gifts, and sanctified and preserved me in the true faith, in like manner as he calls, gathers, enlightens and sanctifies the whole Christian church on earth, and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ by the true faith; in which Christian church he daily and richly forgives me, and all other believers, all our sins; and will at the last day raise up me and all the dead, and will grant unto me and all that believe in Jesus Christ everlasting life. This is most certainly true.

*The Lord's Prayer.* The *Introduction.* Our Father, who art in heaven.—What does our Saviour teach us in this preface?—That God would affectionately invite us to believe, and be assured, that he is truly our Father, and that we are his children indeed; and to call upon him with all cheerfulness and confidence, even as beloved children entreat a kind and affectionate parent.—*The First Petition.* Hallowed be thy name.—How is this to be understood?—God's name is indeed holy in itself; but we pray in this petition, that it may also be sanctified by us.—When is this effected?—When the word of God is taught pure and unadulterated, and we, as the children of God, live holy lives conformly to its precepts. To this, may the Lord our Father in heaven incline us! But he, whose doctrine and life are contrary to the word of God, dishonours the name of God among us. From this preserve us, O Lord, our heavenly Father.—*The Second Petition.* Thy kingdom come.—How is this to be understood?—The kingdom of God will come, indeed, without our prayers; but, we pray in this petition, that it may also come unto us.—When is this effected?—When our heavenly Father gives us his holy Spirit, so that, by his grace, we believe in his holy word, and live a godly life, here in time, and in heaven forever.—*The Third Petition.* Thy will . . . in heaven.—How is this to be understood?—God's good and gracious will is done, indeed, without our prayers; but, in this petition we pray, that it may also be done by us.—When is this done?—When God prevents and destroys all evil counsels and intentions, the will of the devil, of the world, and of our own flesh, which tend to dishonour the name of God among us, and hinder the coming of his kingdom to us; and when he strengthens and preserves us steadfast in his word and faith unto our end. This is his good and gracious will.—*The Fourth Petition.* Give us . . . bread.—How is this to be understood?—God bestows, indeed, unasked, the necessaries and conveniences of life, even upon the wicked; but in this petition we pray, that he would make us sensible of his mercies, and enable us to receive them with

thanksgiving.—What is comprehended in the term, "our daily bread"?—Everything necessary to the support and comfort of existence: as, food and raiment, house and land, money and goods; a kind spouse, good children, faithful servants, righteous magistrates, good weather, peace, health, instruction, honour, true friends, good neighbours, and the like.—*The Fifth Petition.* And forgive us . . . against us.—How is this to be understood?—We pray in this petition, that our heavenly Father would not regard our sins, nor deny us our requests on account of them; for we merit not one single good thing at his hands; but that, though we very often and greatly offend and deserve severe chastisement, he would of his free grace pardon us and bestow on us what we desire. We promise also, on our part, heartily to forgive and willingly to do good to those by whom we have been offended.—*The Sixth Petition.* And lead . . . temptation.—How is this to be understood?—Properly speaking, God tempts no man to evil; but we pray in this petition, that God would protect and preserve us from the devil, the world, and our own deceitful hearts; and not suffer us to be seduced by them, into unbelief, despair, or any other great and shameful sins; and that, though we may be tempted and assaulted by them, we may nevertheless conquer, and finally obtain the victory over them.—*The Seventh Petition.* But deliver us from evil.—How is this to be understood?—We pray in this petition, as in a summary, that our heavenly Father would vouchsafe to deliver us from every evil and suffering, whether it affect the soul or the body, property or character; and at last, when the hour of death shall arrive, grant us a happy end, and graciously take us from this world of imperfection and sorrow to himself in heaven.—*The Conclusion.* For thine is the kingdom . . . Amen.—What signifies the word "Amen"?—The assurance that such petitions are acceptable to my Father in heaven, and heard of him; for he himself has commanded us thus to pray, and has promised to hear our supplications. Amen, amen, signifies yea, yea, it shall be so.

*The Sacrament of Baptism.* 1. What is baptism?—Baptism is not mere water; but it is that water which the ordinance of God enjoins, and which is connected with God's word.—Which is that commandment of God?—That, which our Lord Jesus Christ gave to his disciples, Matth. 28:19: "Go ye, and teach all nations . . . Holy Ghost."—*2.* What are the benefits of baptism?—It causes the forgiveness of sin, redeems from death and the devil, and gives everlasting salvation to those that believe; as the word and promise of God declare.—Which are these words and promises of God?—Those, in

which our Lord declares, Mark 16:16: "He, that believeth . . . shall be damned."—3. How can water produce such great effects?—It is not the water that produces them, but the word of God, which is connected with the water, and our faith confiding in this word of God in the use of baptismal water. For, without the word of God, the water is mere water, and no baptism; but with the word of God it is a baptism, that is, a merciful water of life, and a laver of regeneration in the Holy Ghost; as so Paul says to Titus, 3:5.6: "According to his mercy . . . our Saviour . . . according to the hope everlasting life."—4. What does such water-baptism signify?—It signifies, that the old Adam with all sinful lusts and affections, should be drowned and destroyed by daily sorrow and repentance; and that a new man should daily arise, that shall dwell in the presence of God in righteousness and purity forever.—Where is this said in the Scriptures?—St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, 6:4, says: "We are buried with Christ . . . in newness of life."

*The Sacrament of the Altar.* What is the sacrament of the Altar? It is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the external signs of bread and wine, given unto Christians to eat and drink, as it was instituted by Christ himself.—Which are the words of the institution of the Sacrament?—The holy evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, together with the holy apostle St. Paul, write thus: "Our Lord . . . in remembrance of me."—2. What are the benefits derived from this eating and drinking the Lord's Supper?—They are pointed out in those words of the institution, "Given and shed for you for the remission of sins"; which words shew us, that forgiveness of sin, life and salvation are imparted to us in the sacrament; for where there is remission of sins, there of course is also life and salvation.—3. How can corporeal eating and drinking produce such great effects?—It is not the eating and drinking that produces them, but that solemn declaration, "Which is given and shed for you, for the remission of sins"; which words, besides the corporeal eating and drinking, are considered as the chief thing in the sacrament. Wherefore, whoever truly believes these words, has what they promise, even the forgiveness of sin.—4. Who is it that receives this Sacrament worthily?—Fasting and bodily preparation, are indeed a good external discipline; but he alone is truly worthy and well prepared, that believes in these words, "given and shed for you for the remission of sins." But whoever is void of this faith, or doubts in his mind, is unworthy and unfit; for the words, "for you," require truly believing hearts.

# 13. Luther's Small Catechism Throughout the World

IN THE 16th century Luther's Catechism found its way into all the countries of Europe; today it is used throughout the entire world. In corroboration of this statement we offer the following survey. In a few instances the survey is incomplete owing to the fact that several churches or missions sent either no replies, or very inadequate ones to the questionaire which was sent to all the corners of the world.

## 1. Europe.

*A. GERMANY.* Here Luther's Catechism is used by all the Lutheran Free Churches. Consisting according to the census of 1925 of 178,000 souls, they are divided into eight branches of which seven form one group, and the eighth the other. The largest of the seven branches is the Lutheran Church in Prussia (Synod of Breslau) numbering 54,000 souls. Here the explanation by H. Huebner (2 edition 1927) is the official text. The eighth branch, or the second group, is the Lutheran Free Church of Saxony and other States. It is connected with the Missouri Synod of this country and consists of 68 congregations. Here the explanation by Schwan is used, which is the synodical catechism of the Missouri Synod. Luther's Catechism is also used in the old Lutheran territorial Churches (*Landeskirchen*) as follows: Bavaria (1,598,000 souls), Wuerttemberg (1,722,000 souls), Saxony (4,455,000 souls), Reuss (65,000 souls), Brunswick (464,000 souls), Hannover (2,414,000 souls), Oldenburg (321,000 souls), Schleswig-Holstein (1,361,000 souls), Luekeck (123,-

000 souls), Mecklenburg-Schwerin (629,000 souls), Mecklenburg-Strelitz (101,000 souls), Schaumburg-Lippe (47,000 souls), and Lippe-Detmold (5 congregations). In Wuerttemberg, however, the use of Luther's Catechism is confined to certain parts, while in the others the Luther-Brenz Catechism is the official text. Prior to the Revolution of 1918 Luther's Catechism was one of the textbooks not only of the religious instruction given in the Territorial Lutheran Churches, but also in the common schools where it was used at least in the seventh and eighth grades, if not, as in some regions, in the fifth and sixth grades. Since the Revolution, however, a decided change has taken place. In Saxony, Brunswick, and practically in Hamburg (985,000 souls), and Mecklenburg-Schwerin the Catechism has been removed from the school and can be taught only by the church in the instruction preparatory to confirmation. But in many places the Catechism is here taught with greater care and faithfulness than before. The liberal pastors—and there are many—, of course, explain it according to their own conviction or do not use it at all. In Hamburg its use is not obligatory even in the instruction given by the church, although a number of pastors do base their instruction upon it.

But we find Luther's Catechism also in many of the Union Churches of Germany. Thus the Union Church of Prussia (19-20 millions) numbers the Catechism of Luther among the official textbooks,—with the exception of the majority of the Rhenish congregations and a few others which originally belonged to the Reformed Church. Even in a great number of the schools of Prussia, Luther's Catechism is memorized and explained in the upper grades, at least the first three of the Chief Parts. Consequently in some sections of the Union Church of Prussia, especially in parts of Pomerania, Silesia, Brandenburg, Westphalia, and Hesse-Cassel the children are in point of religion often bet-

ter prepared when they come up for confirmation instruction than those of Lutheran Saxony, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Mecklenburg. Besides the Union Church of Prussia, there are several other Union Territorial Churches as, for instance, in Thuringia, Hesse, Baden, the Palatinate, etc. The situation in Hesse-Darmstadt (855,000) is similar to that of Prussia; in Thuringia (1,480,000), however, it is practically the same as in Saxony. The official *Hilfsbuch fuer den evangelischen Religionsunterricht in Thueringen* (Weimar, 1928), it is true, contains Luther's Catechism, but only in the form of an appendix and it states that in the school only the text of the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, without explanation, are to be memorized. The new catechism (1928) for the Protestant Church of Baden (896,000 souls) contains the Second and Third Chief Parts of Luther's Catechism, the latter being in the appendix, while the catechism of the United Protestant Evangelical Christian Church of the Palatinate (545,000 souls) has only a few indirect references to it.

Germany has an exceedingly rich literature on Luther's Catechism, even today. The more important helps, theoretical and practical, the reader will find mentioned in the next chapter. Compare also chapter XIII of the German edition of this book.

*B. THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.* In the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in modern *Austria*—250,000 souls—Luther's Catechism has been the official textbook since the Edict of Toleration which was issued in 1781. It is used in school and church alike. The editions with explanations are, as a rule, imported from Germany. In modern *Czechoslovakia* we have two branches of the Lutheran Church: the German Evangelical Church in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia numbering 110,000 souls in 88 congregations, and the Czechoslovakian branch embracing over 400,000 souls. In both branches Luther's Catechism is

the official textbook in both school and church. In certain districts, as in the region of Asch, it has been in uninterrupted use since 1545; in others since 1707, and in the Czechoslowakian branch since 1610. While the German branch usually imports its catechetical literature from Germany, the Czechoslovakian uses Bohemian, or Czech and Slovakian editions. A widely used Czech edition is that of D. B. Molnar, printed at Prague. The latest Slovak edition was published at Liptovsky Svaety Mikulas in 1925. The title is *Maly katechismus Dr. Martina Luthera* and the editor is Pavel Cobrda. In modern *Hungary,* which is now but one-third of the former Hungary, there are about 420,000 Lutherans. They are under one ecclesiastical government, but form three language groups: the Magyar, who are in the majority, the German, and the Slovakian. The Lutherans of Hungary have no insignificant catechetical literature in each language group; there are, however, very few who are acquainted with it. It is sketched in the German edition of this book. Gerengel's explanation of Luther's Catechism was used without interruption from 1569 until the first decades of the 19th century; during the last hundred years it was used also in a Magyar and a Slovenian translation. Today the German group usually imports its catechisms from Germany. The Magyars have quite a number of editions and elaborations to select from. We name only those by Györy, Klaar, Majba, Szeberenyi, and Bognar. Among the Slovakian group the explanations by Tranoscius, Baltik, and Cobrda are widely circulated. In *Jugo-Slavia* with its 12 million inhabitants, who belong chiefly to the Orthodox (5,600,000) and Roman Catholic (4,800,000) churches, there is also a Lutheran minority of 172,000 souls, linguistically divided into Germans, Wends or Slovenians, and Slovaks. All of these use Luther's Catechism in church and school. We mention two explanations in Slovenian: *Dr. Luther Martina, Mali Katekismus vödani po Kordos*

*Jànosi* and the explanation by Bedrick Baltik, translated from the Slovakian. Modern *Roumania* has in its population a Lutheran minority of 400,000, the overwhelming majority of whom live in the former Transylvania and Bessarabia and are of German descent. Besides the German "Saxons" (363,000) there are about 35,000 Magyars and a few thousand Slovakians. In church and school Luther's Catechism is the official book for religious instruction, although the liberalistic theology of Germany has struck root here. In *Poland* of today there are five different groups which use Luther's Catechism. They are the following: 1. The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession with its consistory at Warsaw, which is composed of 500,000 souls of whom 200,000 are Poles and 300,000 Germans. Among the Germans Angerstein's editions of Luther's Catechism are circulated, and among the Poles that of Schoeneich (Lublin 1918). 2. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Posen and Pomerellen, (4,100) which in consequence of the war was severed from the Lutheran Church in Prussia. 3. The Evangelical Union Church in Poland (350,000), which came into being when it was forced to separate from the Union Church of Prussia. With the exception of four congregations, it likewise uses Luther's Catechism. 4. The Evangelical Union Church in Upper-Silesia. In each of its twenty parishes Luther's Catechism is the official text. The same is true of the fifth (5.) group which comprises the Lutheran congregations in and around Bielitz and the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Galicia (31,000). In *Lithuania,* with its 1,055,000 Lutherans, both the Germans and the Lithuanians use Luther's Catechism. The title of the Lithuanian explanation by Superintendent C. W. Glogau reads: *Dr. Martino Lutheraus Mazasis Katgismas trumpai isguldytas,* etc., and is printed at Tilsit. *Latvia* has as many Lutherans as Lithuania, of whom 70,000 are Germans. The Germans have used the

edition of Luther's Catechism prepared by Alexander von Oettingen which is out of print at present and which has been replaced by various others. The standard Lettish translation of the Small Catechism adopted in 1889 bears the title: *Deewa kalpa Mahrtina Lutera masais katekisms.* The population of *Esthonia* is seventy-eight per cent Lutheran (867,000). Luther's Catechism is used in all congregations and schools. In the German schools the edition of Alexander von Oettingen had been officially introduced, but since the war the edition of Zuck, reprinted at Riga, is frequently found. The Esthonian congregations have introduced the edition by M. Koerber, based on the Mecklenburg-Strelitz edition of 1849. In 1921 the 26th edition was issued. The title is: *Oendsa Lutheruse Waikene Katekismus.* The Lutheran Church of *Russia* has less than a million souls (about 800,000). It uses the Small Catechism in all congregations. Before the war the Germans used primarily the catechism of von Oettingen and the Wuerttemberg *Konfirmandenbuechlein,* but also other editions such as those of Caspari and Buchrucker. Today they use, besides those salvaged through the war, the various editions sent them from Germany. Similarly the Letts, Esthonians, Lithuanians, and Finns use the catechisms of their home churches. For the Lutherans who speak the Russian language an official translation of the Small Catechism was prepared in 1865. In the way of explanations there is a Russian edition of the exposition by Caspari, printed for the third time in 1908 at Petrograd.—In the Church of *Finland* with its 3,315,000 souls the Catechism of Luther has been in use since the Reformation. The title of the present official print is (in English translation): *Catechism of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Approved by the General Finnish Church Convention of* 1893. In the schools, it is true, Luther's Catechism will be removed if the ideas of the present government are carried out. Already in 1921, the attempt

was made by the government to supplement the regular religious instruction by courses in morality which would be in accord with scientific ethics and the Sermon on the Mount without reference to religious doctrines and concepts. But the government did not succeed. Even the Teachers' Associations withheld their approval from the idea, because all feared the plan might become the first step in the removal of religious instruction from the public schools. Since May, 1924, the following regulations have been theoretically in force: "Religious instruction in the public schools is to be given in accordance with the Confession of the majority of the pupils. Whenever at least twenty pupils are of a different Confession and their parents desire to have them instructed according to their beliefs, the school authorities are asked to provide instruction in their faith by qualified teachers. Those children, however, whose parents have applied for exemption from the religious instruction are to be taught history of religions and morals." Four hours weekly are still set aside for religious instruction; however, since the government ordered that of Luther's Catechism only the first three Chief Parts may be read during these school hours, but that they should be neither memorized nor explained, the Conference of Bishops protested, because that would mean that the children would lack the necessary foundation when they come up for the instruction preparatory to confirmation. Thus for the present the government found it wise not to enforce its interpretation of the law of 1924.

There are about five million Lutherans in *Sweden*. The Small Catechism has enjoyed general acceptation since the Reformation. For more than one hundred years the explanation by Olav Swebilius (1689) was in use. Compare chapter nine. In 1843 it was subjected to a new revision, but was replaced in 1878 by *Doctor Martin Luthers Lilla Katekes med kort utveckling, stadfäst af konungen den* 11. *Oktober* 1878

(*Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup*). In confirmation instruction Luther's Catechism is still used, even though, since its removal from the school, it is no longer everywhere memorized in its entirety. In recent years the official exposition of 1878 has been crowded more and more into the background. To take its place many helps for confirmation instruction have appeared which to greater or lesser degree take Luther's Catechism into consideration. Since the new course of study of 1919 was put into effect, Luther's Catechism may no longer be used in the schools. Religion is now taught upon the basis of the Sermon on the Mount. Luther's Catechism is merely read, as a monument of history,—"In this connection Luther's Catechism is read in order to throw into relief Luther's religious and moral ideas, as well as his way of summarizing and explaining the principal parts of the Christian religion." However, an energetic effort is being made to restore it to the schools. Provost Engström in 1925 introduced a measure to this end at the General Church Assembly at Stockholm and supported it in this way: "Luther's Small Catechism is a book of inestimable value. It is a treasure, not only from the ecclesiastical viewpoint, but in a religious, ethical, evangelical, pedagogical, and national sense as well. Since 1919 this treasure is more and more in danger of being lost to our people. The Swedish Lutheran Church has suffered to see a school directorate arise, not only by the side of and above, but even in direct opposition to the Church, which has made of the school a playground and an experiment station for theological and religious fads, instead of making provision for sound Evangelical Lutheran religious instruction. The child is left to the whims of the teacher. The friends of the Church are no longer able to remain silent spectators in this matter" (*Kirchliche Zeitschrift,* Chicago, 1926, p. 142 f.). In May 1927 a large petition asking the restoration of the Catechism, signed by no less than 342,521

persons, was presented to the government. However, thus far the struggle has not been very successful, inasmuch as the new curriculum for schools of higher learning which in 1928 replaced the one which had been in force since 1906, excludes the Catechism from these institutions also and treats it, like the common schools, only as a historical document of the Lutheran Church. But the struggle is carried faithfully on. Hardly had the new minister of Education and Public Worship, Lindskok, been appointed when, in December 1928, Provost Engström, Cornelius Olsson, a member of the *Reichstag,* and Lindström, a manufacturer, handed in a new petition, which was kindly received by the King, the Minister of State, and the Minister of Education and Public Worship (*Evang. Luth. Volksblatt,* December, 1928). Also in the Church of *Norway* (2,720,000 souls) the Catechism is counted among the confessional books and is to be learned in the public schools and in the instruction preparatory to confirmation; confirmation, however, is optional. Indeed, in the public schools it is at the present time no longer memorized in its entirety. In most of them only the first two of the Chief Parts are committed to memory, while the third is learned in part, and the last two are only read. For this reason the educational conference held in Oslo in 1925 adopted the following resolution: "In view of current tendencies which are directed against Christian education and the confessional training of our baptized young people, the first German-Scandinavian Educational Conference calls upon all Lutherans to take a definite stand in behalf of Christian training and education and urges them particularly to labor that Luther's Small Catechism may not be lost to the young people of the land" (*Kirchl. Zeitschrift* 1926, p. 70 f.). As in Germany, so also in Norway the expositions which explain the Catechism by means of questions and answers are losing in popularity and are being replaced by editions giving the mere text of the Catechism to-

gether with Bible passages and a selection of hymns; some times Luther's Catechism is even supplanted by original summaries. The translation of Luther's text which enjoys the widest vogue today is that of A. Bang: *Dr. Martin Luthers Lille Katekismus* (Kristiania, 9th edition. 1897). Of the older explanations that of H. U. Sverdrup continues to be used (Kristiania, Jacob Dybwad, 1921); likewise, the abridged edition by Jacob Sverdrup (Kristiania, same publisher, 1924, 18th edition). Among the newer expositions we name those of Chr. Bang (1891) and Fr. Klaveness (*Kristenlaera bygd på dåpspakti . . . for skulen av Fr. Klaveness og Henrik Kaarstad, Bjergvin, A. S. Lunde,* 1924, and *Oversikt over kristenlaeren på dåpspaktens grunn-troen, lydigheten, bannen og nadverden—for skole, konfirmasjon og livet, av Fr. Klaverness, Bergen, Lunde u. Co.,* 1928). The explanations in questions and answers by O. Jensen (1892), bishop N. J. Laache (1892), and E. Meyer (1893) are not used to any extent today. Of the others, which are chiefly catechisms with an accompanying booklet of Bible verses, we note the following: 1. S. Hansen, Horten, *Den kristelige barnelaerdom etc. Godkjent* 1916. 2. Corneliussen og Ellefsen, *Katekismus med bibelsteder og salmer, etc. Godkjent* 1919; 3. *Dr. M. Luthers lille katekismus. Med tillegg av bibelsteder, bordvers, salmer og sanger og om gudstjenesten og kirkeåret. Utarbeidet av en av Bergens skolerad nedsatt komité. Bergen, A. S. Beyer,* 1925; 4. *Vår kristentro. Fremstillet for barn efter Luthers lille katekismus. Med tekster, bibelord, henvisninger og vers. Utgitt av Drammens skolestyre ved Sven A. Svensen, skoleinspekter. Drammen, Harald Lyche u. Co.* 1926; 5. *Kristenlaere for barn. I tylknytning til Luthers lille katekisme av Aksel Skretting, laerer. Oslo, Olaf Norlis Forlag,* 1925; 6. *Vår barnetro. Efter bibelen og Luthers lille katekisme. Av sogneprest Einar Borchgrevink. Oslo, Jacob Dybwads Forlag.* 1926. These statements concerning Sweden

and Norway are based in part upon information given by Bishop Rodhe of Lund and Professor Moe of Oslo.

The Lutheran Church of *Denmark* likewise has used Luther's Small Catechism since the Reformation. The text used at the present time was prepared by the Danish bishops in 1909 for use in the public schools. It is called *Dr. Marten Luthers lille katekismus. Köbenhavn* 1914. *Det Kgl. Vajsenhuses Forlag.* It has linguistic changes in the text of the Creed and in the wording of the Holy Communion. Concerning the use of expositions of the Catechism the ecclesiastical authorities write as follows: For use in the school and in the confirmation class two explanations of Luther's Small Catechism are authorized: 1. *Balles Laerebog i den evangelisk-christelige Religion til Brug i danske Skolen* (by royal resolution of June 10, 1791). 2. *Luthers Cathekismus med en kort Forklaring ved C. F. Balslev, Stiftsprovst og Sognepraest ved Ribe Domkirke* (royal order of October 3, 1856). Of these two that of Balle is no longer used at the present time, whereas Balslev's little book appeared in the 294th edition in 1928 (*Kobenhavn, Geldendalske Boghandel,* 1928). The text employed is that of the revision of 1909. In recent years efforts were made also in Denmark to have the Catechism, if not indeed religious instruction as such, excluded from the schools. The leader in these endeavors was Nina Bang who served as Minister of Education in the Socialist Ministry. But they were not successful, as similar endeavors had been in Sweden and Norway. The new Minister of Education, Byskov, himself a practical educator, took a decided stand in favor of the retention of religious instruction and the Catechism in the public schools (*Ev. Luth. Volksblatt* 1927, *December*). *Iceland* also uses Luther's Catechism, presumably the explanation of Balslev. Unfortunately there was no answer to our questionaire.

In *Holland* the Lutheran Church is divided into two

groups. The one is the Evangelical Lutheran Church consisting of about 50 congregations, and the other the Restored Lutheran Church comprising 8 congregations. In all there are about 100,000 souls. In the latter branch Luther's Catechism is everywhere used even though there is no special church ruling to this end. In the former body it is also used to a considerable extent and is printed in the hymn book. It is probable, however, that many of the liberal pastors have discarded it. The Evangelical Lutheran Church uses no explanations; in the Restored Church, according to Professor J. W. Pont in his answer to the questionaire, those of J. A. Klinkenberg and P. van Wijk are to be found. Besides these native churches there is one other Evangelical church, namely the German congregation in The Hague.

Before the war there were two Lutheran congregations in *Belgium;* both were in Antwerp. At the present time they are being reassembled. Since they accept the Augustana, there is little doubt that they use Luther's Catechism. The congregations at Eupen, Malmedy, and New Moresnet, which were given over by Germany, are now served by a Swiss pastor and are probably Reformed. In *England there* are two Lutheran congregations in London which are connected with the Missouri Synod and use the Schwan edition of the Catechism. Before the World War there were 24 flourishing German Evangelical congregations and 26 pastors in England. Of these, 10 congregations and 5 pastors remain. Most of these use Luther's Catechism. There are also several Swedish congregations in England, as for instance in London and Liverpool. These also in all probability use Luther's Catechism. In *France* Luther's Catechism is used in four different church circles: 1. In Alsace Lorraine (about 250,000 souls) where it has been the official religious textbook since the 16th century. The following expositions are in use: The old Strassburg *Kinderbibel,*

*das ist, die sechs Hauptstuecke der christlichen Lehre mit klaren Spruechen der Schrift* (probably dates back to the 16th century); *Der lautere Lehrbrunn Israels,* d. i., *der Christliche Katechismus D. M. Lutheri,* which was perhaps printed for the first time in 1664 but had previously circulated in manuscript; its author was Supt. G. Wegelin of Buchsweiler; it is still used in the territory which was formerly the duchy of Hanau-Lichtenberg; *Dr. Martin Luther's Kleiner Katechismus in Fragen und Antworten mit beweisenden Spruechen Heiliger Schrift von L. A. Hamm* (Strassburg, Vormhoff, 1893, 7th edition 1924); Hackenschmidt's *Wegweiser zu den Segensquellen Gottes fuer Konfirmanden* (Guetersloh, Bertelsmann, 11-13 thousand, 1921); here and there the Catechism of Ch. F. von Boeckh (Kempten, 27th edition 1896) and the *Handbuechlein fuer Jung und Alt oder Katechismus der evangelischen Heilslehre von F. Haerter* (Strassburg, 19th edition, 1893) may still be used. 2. In the newly founded Lutheran Synod of Alsace, which is affiliated with the American Missouri Synod. It numbers 12 preaching points. No doubt the Missouri edition of the Catechism is used here. 3. In the Eglise de la Confession d'Augsbourg, which is the Lutheran Church of France proper. It is composed of about 30,000 souls. In the Paris district *Le petit Catéchisme de Luther* (*Cahors, A. Coueslant,* 1925) is used, hardly, however, in all congregations. This Catechism contains Luther's preface in abbreviated form and has for an introduction *La Parole de Dieu,* that is, the following Scripture passages: John 5:39; Psalm 119:105; 2 Timothy 3:16; Hebrews 1:1-2; John 1:-17; 2 Peter 1:21; Romans 1:16; and John 7:17, together with an enumeration of the Biblical books. Then follow the *Cinq Points,* but the decalogue is given according to Exodus 20, as was formerly always done, and to some extent is still done, in the Strassburg editions. Then follows the text of the Chief Parts with Luther's explanation. Here too we find

in the explanation of the decalogue many of the peculiarities of the Marbach Catechism which was intended for Strassburg or in the Ulm Catechism which was influenced by the former (I 1, pp. 144 ff.). Thus the explanation of the second Commandment (prohibition of images) is made to read: *Nous devons craindre et aimer Dieu, afin d'avoir en horreur l'idolàtrie et la superstition, et de n'invoquer que Dieu seul, dans nos afflictions et dans nos peines.* A confession of sin follows the Fifth Part, and, under the head of Absolution, the Scripture John 20:21-23. The appendix offers prayers of various kinds, 11 sections of the Table of Duties (*Le Reglement de la Maison*), information concerning the Church Year, and a survey of Church History in the form of a chronology which goes rather into detail. Finally there are thetic presentations upon the subject of Revelation and Bible, Sin, The Work of Christ, Prayer, and one upon the question, Why are we Protestants? After a number of rules for the every day life there follows a survey of the history of the Church in narrative form. The Chief Parts are in each case followed by Bible passages—often only the first words—and examples from Biblical History. In the second Chief Part the Bible Verses are arranged from the viewpoint of dogmatics. Thus: *Dieu et sen perfections; La creation; La providence; Le devoir de la créature; La chute de l'homme; Promesse du salut; La personne du Christ; Rédemption; Expiation, Résurrection et élévation de Jésus Christ; Vocation; Conversion; Justification; Sanctification; L'église et la communion des saints; La résurrection de la chair et la vie éternelle.* In the district of Montbeliard there are 35 congregations. According to an inquiry which Pastor André Meyer of Beaucourt made for us in this district, Luther's Catechism is used only in 16 congregations. Where an explanation is employed, the annotations of W. André Meyer are used. Before the War there were three German Lutheran congregations in

France which used Luther's Catechism. They were located in Paris, Lyon, and Nice. Of these Christ Church in Rue Blanche, Paris, has been returned to the Germans and since 1927 it has been supplied with a pastor. This brings back Luther's Catechism in German to Paris. Perhaps the church of the Swedish embassy uses it in Swedish. The Lutheran congregation in Zurich, *Switzerland,* with which several preaching points are affiliated, is served by the Lutheran Church of Prussia; this guarantees the use of Luther's Catechism. Which catechism is used by the German Evangelical congregation at Geneva, that belongs to the German *Kirchenbund* (Federation of Churches), we do not know, although Pastor Hoffmann, who for many years was its pastor and who was a Lutheran in his personal convictions, no doubt used it.

Whether Luther's Catechism is used in *Spain,* we cannot say definitely. The *Iglesia Evangelica Espangnola* is frankly unionistic and interdenominational. But this does not render it impossible that for instance Fliedner may have translated Luther's Catechism or that upon occasion he used it. It is more likely, however, that Luther's Catechism is used in the German Evangelical Church of Barcelona, which in May 1925 celebrated its fortieth anniversary and which at the present time numbers 300 contributing members, as also in the church at Madrid and in the outposts served by them both. The same is true of *Portugal* where there are about 1000 German Evangelicals who live in Porto, Lisbon, Amora, and on the island of Fayal; they are served from Lisbon. These German congregations are under the jurisdiction of the Church Consistory (*Oberkirchenrat*) at Berlin, or, to be more exact, the German Evangelical Executive Board, which is an agency of the German Federation of Churches (*Kirchenbund*). In *Italy* the German Evangelical congregations at Meran, Bozen, Triest, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Rome, and

Naples united to form the "Federation of Evangelical Congregations of the German tongue;" this was done in June 1926. There is no question that in some of these congregations, for instance in Bozen, Meran, and Triest (1000 souls), which formerly belonged to Austria, Luther's Catechism is used. In *Albania* there are about 1000 Lutherans scattered here and there. In *Bulgaria* there is a Lutheran church in Sofia and also in Rustschuk, both of which are connected with the German Federation of Evangelical Churches. The German Evangelical congregation in Athens, *Greece*, and the preaching points at Volo, Patras, and Saloniki, are similarly situated. The same applies to the German Evangelical congregation at Constantinople-Pera in *Turkey*. The Executive Board at Berlin at our request is just now engaged in gathering information concerning the use of Luther's Small Catechism in all of these distant congregations. Perhaps we shall be able to say something more about them in an appendix. We rather expect to learn, however, that Luther's Catechism is used in most of them.

## II. America.

1. *NORTH AMERICA.* In *Greenland* there are about 12,000 Eskimos. They are Lutherans who were Christianized by the Norwegian Egede and the German Moravians. The latter use Luther's Catechism in their missionary enterprises. Since 1900 the Lutherans of Greenland are under the care of the Lutheran Church of Denmark. This makes certain the use of Luther's Catechism in this northern region, even as the administration of the Moravian communion assures me that their missionaries have translated Luther's Catechism into the vernacular. The Moravians of Germany have also done missionary work among the 4000 Eskimos of *Labrador* and have brought them all under Christian influences, even though only 884 are members of Christian churches. Here

also, according to the Moravian Church Board, Luther's Catechism is used. *Alaska* now has more than 30,000 whites. There are already a number of Lutheran congregations which have been founded by Lutheran Synods of the United States. Some of these congregations serve as bases for missionary operations among the Eskimos and Indians, of whom there are about 30,000 souls. The Moravians, however, had already worked among the Eskimos. Thus Luther's Catechism also found its way to Alaska.

*Canada* and the *United States of North America* we shall consider together, for the Lutheran work in Canada stands in close relation to that of the Lutheran Church in the States, even as Lutherans of the United States founded the work in Canada. According to the census of 1927 the Lutheran Church ranked third among the Churches of the United States—the Methodists in 16 groups, 9,119,575 communicants; the Baptists in 14 groups, 8,712,607 communicants; the Lutherans in 20 groups, 2,656,158; the Presbyterians in 9 groups, 2,597,136—and numbered 4,432,156 baptized souls. In all of its various groups Luther's Small Catechism is used. Because of its polyglot character, the Lutheran Church in America teaches the Catechism in 28 languages, in English, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Bohemian, Slovakian, Polish, Lithuanian, Wend, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Lettish, Esthonian, Finnish, Magyar, Slovenian, Yiddish, New Syrian, in 7 Indian tongues, and in Braille for the blind. I cannot say definitely, however, whether the Catechism has been printed in all of the seven Indian dialects. The questionaires which I sent out with reference to the matter have not been answered in spite of repeated requests. In the universal language of Esperanto Luther's Catechism already exists in manuscript form.

The *United Lutheran Church in America* in which the

former General Synod, the United Synod of the South, and the General Council (with the exception of the Augustana Synod) merged, numbers 1,235,048 baptized members. This body uses Luther's Catechism in its parochial schools—few as they are—and in its many Sunday Schools, Saturday and vacation schools, and in the confirmation classes even though at times it is not memorized. It has also been incorporated into its official English and German hymn books. The following English editions circulate within its confines today: The text edition of the old General Council: *Luther's Small Catechism for the Use of the Church, School and Family.* It contains only Luther's Catechism without additions or appendices. The text edition of the old General Synod: *Luther's Small Catechism, with Additions, for the use of Sunday Schools and Families, revised edition*—there is also an "old edition"—. The addition consists of: *Order of Salvation, systematically arranged in two parts—the first part, Of God; the second, Of Man*—see Chapter 12. The edition of the General Council with Bible verses: *Luther's Small Catechism with Scripture texts, by authority of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America* (copyrighted since 1874); this edition also contains the *Christlichen Fragestuecke* for those who desire to receive the Sacrament, and brief instruction concerning the Church Year—this edition may also be had in German. The edition of the General Synod with explanation: *Luther's Small Catechism Developed and Explained* (copyright 1893). There is an appendix which, many minor changes notwithstanding, coincides with the *Order of Salvation* in the text edition, but which here has the title: *"Abstracts of Christian Doctrine, or an analysis of the doctrines of Christianity, which may be divided into two parts, the first of which treats of God, and the second of Man." The Table of Duties* which follows this appendix has been amplified. A number of prayers —Lord's Prayer, Morning, Table, and Evening prayer (but

not those of Luther's Catechism)—and 22 hymns conclude the book. In the circles of the old General Council the following explanations have been, and still are, used: *Luther's Small Catechism, Explained in Questions and Answers for the Use in Church, School, and Family. Prepared (by J. W. Mann and G. F. Krotel) and published in the name of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Pennsylvania and the adjacent States;* it first appeared in 1863. *Questions and Answers on Luther's Small Catechism for the use of the Church, School, and the Family, by Rev. G. H. Trabert* (first edition 1899). *An Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism. A Handbook for the Catechetical Class, by Joseph Stump* (first edition 1907; has to date been printed in 170,000 copies); *Wm. Loehe's explanation translated by Dr. Horn.* In the old General Synod both the German and the English editions of Ortlepp's catechism are used—C. E. Ortlepp, *Questions and Answers for Catechetical Instruction for the Sunday School and the Home.* In the German Conference the German guide book of Bielinski (*Luthers Kleiner Katechismus mit einem Leitfaden und Bibelspruechen*) is used; in the New York Ministerium also Eickmann's German explanation of the Catechism. The editions of the old General Council follow the translation made by Schaeffer in 1855. The new or revised editions of the old General Synod have the translation made by the Joint Committee in 1899. While still a member of the old Synod of the South, Horine published his *Catechist's Handbook,* which has already been mentioned. The author's German and English catechism is used in many places. Baltzly's *Catechetical Evangelization* (Burlington, 1928) endeavors to show how Luther's Catechism may be used in lectures to adults who desire admission into the Lutheran Church, and Richards has translated Ahlfeld's sermons on the Fourth and Fifth Chief Parts into English (*The Sacraments and the Word,* Philadelphia). The United Lutheran Church also car-

ries on extensive missionary work among Lutheran immigrants from countries other than Germany and Scandinavia. Where German and English catechisms cannot be used, such texts of the Catechism which the people of congregations may have brought from the mother country are pressed into service. This is done among Lithuanians, Esthonians, Letts, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks, Jugoslavs, Transylvanians etc. Thus we find among the Slovaks the catechisms of Tranoscius, Bedrich Baltik, and Cobrda; among the Hungarians those of Györy, Klaar, Majba, Szeberenyi, and Bognar, which we have named under Hungary; among the Wends or Slovenians we find those of Kordos Jánosi and Bedrich Baltik, which we noted under the head of Jugoslavia (See also under Missouri). For their Mission among the Italians, Fortunato Scarpitti has prepared an Italian translation.

The *Missouri Synod,* second in strength among the Lutheran bodies in America, numbers 1,034,404 baptized souls. It uses Luther's Small Catechism as an official textbook not only in its many parochial schools and all other educational institutions, but also in all of its missionary endeavors among those who use languages other than English or German. Of English and German editions, besides the mere text editions, the following are used: J. K. Dietrich, *Dr. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus in Frage und Antwort gruendlich ausgelegt, mit Zusaetzen aus dem Dresdener Kreuzkatechismus und den Bekenntnischriften der ev. luth. Kirche und Spruechen H. Schrift.* This is an expansion of the 'little Dietrich' of 1627. The English edition adds upon the title page "published by the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States." H. C. Schwan, *Kurze Auslegung des Kleinen Katechismus Dr. Martin Luthers. Herausgegeben von der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. St.* This is today the official Catechism of this Synod; it is published also in English and in a German-English edition. O. Hanser,

*Luthers Enchiridion mit 199 Fragen und Antworten ueber die Christliche Heilslehre;* also to be had in English. W. Dallmann, *Luther's Small Catechism with Short Explanations and a few Bible Verses for Very Busy People.* C. F. Drewes, *Lutheran Catechism.* P. H. Ristau, *Brief Catechism and Bible History.* The following are intended for the teacher: F. Lindemann, *Was sagen die Worte?* This is an explanation of the words of the Catechism; it may also be had in English. G. Mezger, *Lessons in the Small Catechism, for the Senior Department of Lutheran Sunday Schools.* F. W. C. Jesse, *Catechetical Preparations.* D. Meibohm, *Catechizations.* H. B. Fehner, *Outlines for Catecheses.* F. Wessel, *Proof-Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary.* Sermons on the Catechism are also coming into favor again: Abbetmeyer, Huchhausen, and Plocher, *Sermons on the Catechism.* All of these works have been published by the Concordia Publishing House at St. Louis. In the missions among foreigners using languages other than German and English, such as the Poles, the Letts, the Esthonians, and the Finns, the catechisms brought from the mother countries are used, but they are supplanted as quickly as possible by translations of the synodical catechism. We note the following, some of which have an explanation while others merely give Luther's text: For the work among the Jews, *The Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther Translated into Yiddish* by N. Friedmann, Missionary to the Jews, of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri. For the Slovak congregations, which now make up the Slovak Synod, which is affiliated with the Synodical Conference: *Maly Katechismus Dr. Martina Luthera. Vydala Slov. Ev. Lut. Synoda Spoj. Statoch Americkych* (Akron, Ohio) and Schwan's explanation in Slovak translation: *Kratky Vyklad Maleho Katechismu napisaneho od Dr. Martina Luthera* (Akron, Ohio, 1924). For the Lithuanian congregations: *Dr. Martino Lutheraus Mazasis katgismas trumpai isguldytas.*

*Is vokiskos Kalbos lietuviskai perstatytas per C. W. Glogau, Tilzes Vyskupa* (Tilsit, Reylaender u. Sohn). With the young people in the Lithuanian congregations who speak the English language, of course the English translation of Schwan is used, but Schwan is already to be had in a Lettish translation, entitled: (*Enchiridion*) *Dr. Martino Luterio Mazasis Katekizmas.* In the small number of Lettish congregations the catechism used in the mother country has hitherto been put into service. This is the case also with the work among the Esthonians and the Finns. In the Polish congregations the catechisms of Schoeneich, J. Krueger, and G. W. Weiss are used, especially the first two; compare German edition of this book under the head of Poland. For the work among the Italians: *Il Piccolo Catechismo del Dottor Martin Lutero. Coll' aggiunta di un Manuale d'Instruzione Religiosa. Per uso delle Chiese Evangeliche Luterane Italiane del Sinodo di Missouri.* This catechism was edited by A. Bongarzone and contains also a short biography of Luther, the cardinal principles of the Lutheran Church, directions for Bible study, a translation of Lutheran hymns etc. In the work among Spaniards and Mexicans, use is no doubt made of the catechism which we shall meet with in the section dealing with Argentina. For his work among the Persians, L. Pera of Chicago has translated the Catechism into New Syrian (*Katechismus sura d'Doctor Martin Luther*); it has, however, not yet been printed. The *Wisconsin Synod* (229,242 souls), which together with Missouri and several smaller bodies comprises the Synodical Conference, has an official explanation prepared by G. Gausewitz, entitled: *Dr. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus, herausgegeben von G. Gausewitz im Auftrag der ev. luth. Synode von Wisconsin u. a. Staaten* (Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis.); this catechism may also be had in English.

The *Joint Synod of Ohio,* numbering 247,773 souls in

its German congregations uses a catechism prepared in 1884 by Loy, Stellhorn, and Rohe upon the basis of the old Dietrich. It has reached the twentieth edition. The title is: *Dr. Martin Luthers Kleiner Katechismus. In Frage und Antwort ausgelegt und mit Spruechen Heiliger Schrift begruendet fuer Kirche, Schule, und Haus.* In the same year it was translated by L. Cronenwett and in this form has been reissued sixteen times; strangely enough it calls itself not "The Small Catechism," but "The Smaller Catechism." In 1921 *The Simplified Catechism* (Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, 1921), the work of several committees, appeared, which, together with the former are the official catechisms of the Ohio Synod. In 1914 H. J. Schuh published his *Catechizations on Luther's Catechism;* in 1913 Stellhorn's *Schriftbeweis zu Luthers Katechismus* appeared, and in 1915 ff. Golladay's Sermons on *the Catechism. The Synod of Iowa and Other States* (217,637 souls) in 1904 acquired a new synodical catechism from the pen of the author of this book. The title is: *Erklaerung des Kleinen Katechismus Dr. Martin Luthers, mit drei Anhaengen* (Chicago, Wartburg Publishing House). This catechism was written in the thetic form and, especially in the English translation by C. G. Prottengeier, has had a wide distribution including other synods and is even used in South Africa, India, and Australia. Upon the basis of it J. Drewelow in 1928 published catecheses on the Ten Commandments in English for the use of teachers. In 1914 a shorter edition in English and German in the form of questions and answers appeared for use in localities where educational facilities in the religious sense are of a more modest nature. The *Buffalo* Synod, a small body of 9,267 souls, uses the *Simplified Catechism of the Ohio Synod.* The *Jehovah Conference* (1,100 souls) felt called upon to transplant the Catechism of Lower Hessia (see German edition, Chapter 13 under Free Churches of Germany and under Cassel) to America.

The Swedish *Augustana Synod* (311,425 baptized members) in 1922 published its Swedish and English catechisms in revised form. *Luthers Lilla Katekes* is the edition of the mere text, and *Luthers Lilla Katekes med Förklaring* (Rock Island, Augustana Book Concern, 1922) is the edition with explanation. The Sunday School Lesson Helps published by the Augustana Synod are also based upon the Catechism (*Graded Lessons in Luther's Small Catechism and Bible History*).—The *Norwegian Lutherans* of the United States are divided into five bodies. The Norwegian Lutheran Church (417,471 souls) is the result of the merger of the old Norwegian Synod, the United Norwegian Lutheran Church, and the Hauge Synod. A small remnant (8,344) continues under the name of Norwegian Lutheran Synod and belongs to the Synodical Conference. Then we have the Lutheran Free Church (46,633 souls), the Eielsen Synod (1,200), and the Church of the Lutheran Brethren (1,700). All use Luthers' Catechism. The explanations used among them are either those brought over from Norway, translations of these, or independent works. From the very beginning the old Catechism of the Danish bishop, Eric Pontoppidan, has been of great influence (compare chapter 9), in its original form as well as in the entirely new dress given by H. U. Sverdrup and abridged by Jacob Sverdrup. As early as 1841 Elling Eielsen translated a few extracts of it into English: *Doctor Martin Luther's Small Catechism, with plain instruction for children, and sentences from the Word of God to strengthen the faith of the meek. Translated from the Danish and published by Elling Elielsen* (misprint for Eielsen). *Printed at* 176 *Bowery* (*New York*) 1841. This was the first religious book published in America by a Norwegian; it was therefore reprinted in 1925 by O. M. Norlie (Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House). The English translation of the abridged Pontoppidan, by E. Belfour, 1877 (*Epitome of Dr. E. Pon-*

*toppidan's Explanation of Dr. M. Luther's Small Catechism, translated from the Norwegian*) had seen 28 editions in 1898 and is still used today (55th thousand, 1924). Sverdrup's revision of Pontoppidan was translated by E. G. Lund (*H. U. Sverdrup's Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism, translated from the Norwegian by Dr. Emil Gunnerius Lund.* Abridged edition 1903) and H. A. Urseth (*H. U. Sverdrup's Luther's Small Catechism explained in Questions and Answers, translated from the Norwegian by H. A. Urseth,* 1910). Likewise the catechism of Bishop Nils Jacob Laache, which we mentioned under the head of Norway, was translated into English (*N. J. Laache's Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism, translated from the Norwegian by M. Chr. Waller,* 1912). J. T. Ylvisaker in collaboration with several others prepared a catechism for the former Norwegian Synod; it was based upon Pontoppidan and Sverdrup (*Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism, rendered into simple English by a committee*). N. C. Brun edited Luther's Catechism for the former United Church. Of recent origin is the treatment of the Catechism by H. P. Grimsby in the Graded System for Lutheran Sunday Schools, written in behalf of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America; it is based not upon Bible History, but upon Luther's Catechism. The following books were intended for teachers: K. Lokensgaard, *Outlines of the Catechism;* H. O. Fjeldstad, *Catechizations on the Catechism;* H. P. Grimsby, *Teachers' Helps on Sverdrup's Explanation;* J. Tanner, *Ten Studies on the Catechism.* The most recent explanation is by O. L. Grefthen (*A Popular Exposition on Luther's Catechism, Minneapolis,* 1928). The *Danish* Lutherans are divided into two groups: the "United Danish Church" with 30,000 baptized members and the "Danish Church" with 19,000 baptized members. Both use Luther's Catechism. Where the work is carried on in Danish, the explanation by Balslev (see under Denmark) is used; in the

English work they use the English translation of this catechism, which has the title: *Luther's Catechism with a brief explanation. A textbook for the unconfirmed youth by the late Bishop C. F. Balslev, translated from the Danish by a Committee, Blair, Nebr.*—The *Finns* are divided into three groups: The Suomi Evangelical Lutheran Church (35,000 baptized members), the Finnish National Church (8000 baptized members), and the Finnish Apostolic Church (50,000 baptized members). They have reprinted the catechism adopted by the Third General Finnish Church Convention, 1893, (Hancock, Michigan, 1925), and have published it also in English: *Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church Catechism, Approved by the Third General Finnish Church Convention in* 1893. *With Interrogations* (Hancock, Michigan, 1925). No information could be obtained from the small *Icelandic Synod* (2,038 baptized members). The *Slovak Synod* (14,759 baptized members), which belongs to the Synodical Conference, has already been considered under Missouri. The independent Lutheran congregations (3,008 baptized members) also use Luther's Catechism. It is likewise used in the Negro missions and in the various Indian missions, which are conducted chiefly by the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods, but also by the Eielsen Synod.

2. *CENTRAL AMERICA.* The Moravians brought Luther's Catechism in an English translation to the *West Indies.* In Cuba, or, to be more exact, on the Isle of Pines, the Missouri Synod has a number of preaching points, where Luther's Catechism is of course used. It was introduced in the *Virgin Islands* by the Lutheran Church of Denmark, and the United Lutheran Church in America continues to use it there. In *Porto Rico* the United Lutheran Church in America has a number of congregations and missions. For this work A. Ostrom translated Luther's Catechism into Spanish: *Catecismo Menor del Dr. Martin Lutero;* it appeared for

the first time in 1908; there was a second edition in 1915, and a third revised edition is in preparation at the present moment. In *Mexico* the Missouri and Ohio Synods have several preaching stations, both using Luther's Catechism. In all probability this is true also of the Evangelical congregation in the capital city of Mexico, which is connected with the High Consistory in Berlin. In *Nicaragua,* especially in the old Mosquito Reservation, the Moravians have gathered 10,107 Christians into their congregations. This points to the use of Luther's Catechism. Moreover, a letter from Herrnhut confirms the report that Luther's Catechism has been translated into the Mosquito-Indian tongue.

3. *SOUTH AMERICA.* In the northern part *Venezuela* and *Guiana* demand consideration. In Caracas, Venezuela, there is an Evangelical congregation which is under the care of the High Consistory of Berlin, an indication that Luther's Catechism is probably used. Since 1732 the Moravians have been working among the negroes of British and Dutch Guiana. Their work has been particularly successful in Surinam, Dutch Guiana. Surinam has 113,181 inhabitants, 35,000 of whom live in the capital city, Paramaribo. In Surinam the Moravian Church has become the Peoples' Church; 25,000 count themselves members in it. Here Luther's Catechism is used in Dutch and in Negro-English. In British Guiana the United Lutheran Church in America has two congregations, both of which use Luther's Catechism. In *Brazil* there are three different church organizations which must be considered with reference to Luther's Catechism: 1. *The Evangelical Synods which are connected with the High Consistory at Berlin*: a) The German Evangelical Synod in Rio Grande do Sul, which in 1926 held its 33d convention and numbers 130,000 souls (in 1925 there were 360,000 Germans in Rio Grande do Sul in a total population of two and one-half millions). The congregation of Pikado has already celebrated its 75th anniver-

sary. The seminary for teachers is at Sao Leopoldo, where the theological seminary is also to be located. b) The Synod of Central Brazil (Sao Paulo, Minas Geraes, Espirito Santo, and Rio), which numbers eleven congregations. In most of these congregations, some of which have graded schools, Luther's Catechism is used; copies are either imported from Germany or printed in Brazil, for instance at Sao Leopoldo. 2. *The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Santa Catharina, Parana and Other States,* which was founded by the Lutheran *Gotteskasten* of Germany and which numbers 32,000 souls. The official catechism is a good explanation of Luther's Catechism by Pastor Riegel. 3. *The Brazil District of the Missouri Synod,* which has 50 pastors, 8 parochial school teachers, and 169 preaching points. For the German work the Schwan explanation of Luther's Catechism (see North America, Missouri Synod) is used; for the work among the young people who speak the Portuguese language there is also a translation of the Schwan catechism into that language. It is entitled: *Exposicao Concisa de Catechismo Menor do Dr. Martinho Luthero. Publicado pelo Synodo Evangelico Lutherado Brazil. Porto Alegre,* 1924.—In the *La Plata* States we must distinguish between four groups among which Luther's Catechism is found. 1. The German Evangelical La Plata Synod, which consists of 18 parishes (35,000 souls) and is connected with the Consistory at Berlin. The Buenos Aires District (the congregation at Buenos Aires was founded in 1843) alone numbers 5000 souls. Two districts are located in Paraguay (1500 souls), two in Uruguay (2200), and one in Patagonia (4000). 2. The Argentinian District of the Missouri Synod, which has 18 pastors and over 80 preaching points. Here too the children who speak the German use Schwan, whereas those who speak Spanish, an edition of Luther's text in Spanish: *Enchiridion o Catecismo Menor del Dr. Martin Lutero y Una Guia Concisa para La Instruccion en la*

*Doctrina Cristiana* (Buenos Aires, 1923). The 'brief instruction for adults' which is attached to the Luther text is from the pen of F. F. Selle of Milwaukee; it is used extensively in the Missouri Synod. Since 1927 Schwan's exposition can also be had in Spanish. The edition has the title: *Explicacion Concisa del Catecismo Menor del Martino Lutero. Traducida del Aleman por el Rev. A. T. Kramer* (Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso, 1927). The United Lutheran Church in America also has 8 congregations in Argentina, who use Luther's Catechism in English and Spanish. Their Spanish edition of Luther's Catechism is enlarged by explanatory questions and answers. Its title is: *Catechismo Menor del Doctor Martin Lutero. Adaptado a la instrucciõn elemental de la doctrina cristiana por La Comision Evangelista de La Iglesia Luterana unida en La República Argentina* (*Buenos Aires,* 1927). 4. There is also a congregation of the Swedish Augustana Synod and a Danish Lutheran congregation at Buenos Aires which likewise uses Luther's Catechism. The fact that the Church at Acacio, *Bolivia,* belongs to the United Lutheran Church in America vouches for the use of Luther's Catechism in that country. In *Peru* the German Evangelical parish at Lima and Callao is affiliated with the Consistory at Berlin. *Chile* has the German Evangelical Chile Synod of 12,000 souls divided into 8 parishes, six of which are under the supervision of the Berlin Consistory and two affiliated with the Territorial Church of Saxony. In most instances Luther's Catechism is also used in these congregations.

### III. Africa.

1. *SOUTH AFRICA.* In the territory of the South African Union the following Lutheran groups,—with the sole exception of the congregations associated with the Free Church of Hannover,—since 1926 have formed the German Church Federation of South and Southwestern Africa (*Deutscher Kir-*

*chenbund Sued- und Suedwestafrikas*): 1. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa under the leadership of Pastor S. W. Wagner of Capetown, which includes all the congregations in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and in the Orange Free State; it numbers 10,000 members. 2. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Africa in Natal and Transvaal which is connected with Hermannsburg and which has 2900 members in 17 congregations. 3. The Free Church Lutheran Synod of South Africa in Natal and Transvaal, which is connected with the Free Church of Hannover. 4. The four congregations in Natal which are affiliated with the Berlin Mission. 5. The congregation in Pretoria. 6. The congregation in Johannisburg. 7. The 19 German Evangelical congregations of what was formerly German Southwest Africa; of these the District of Windhoek alone numbers 2300 souls. In nearly all of these groups Luther's Catechism is used, the first three using texts brought from Hannover.

In all of South Africa Luther's Catechism has become an important factor in the missionary work among the natives, for it serves as a means of instructing the latter in preparation for baptism. In the Western Cape Colony it is used by the Moravians, the Barmen or Rhenish Mission, and by the First Berlin Mission; in the Eastern Cape Colony by the Moravians and the First Berlin; in Natal and in the Zulu country the Norwegian Mission Society, the Schreuder Mission which seceded from the latter, the First Berlin Society, the Hermannsburg Mission, and the Mission of the Established Church of Sweden; the Hermannsburg Mission in the territory of the Bechuanas; in the Orange Free State, the First Berlin; in the country of the Basutos, the First Berlin; in Transvaal, Hermannsburg and First Berlin, which together count 98,000 baptized members; in southern Rhodesia, the Swedish Church Mission; in former Southwest Africa, the Rhenish Mission, which in 1924 had 42,876 baptized members

and 2,895 applicants for Baptism in a total population of 157,000. The First Berlin, the Hermannsburg and the Barmen (Rhenish) Mission Societies were particularly active in the production of translations of Luther's Catechism into the languages spoken by the natives. We know of the following translations made by the First Berlin Society: 1. Cape Dutch: *De kleine Katechismus, of oaderwijzing in den christelijke Leer. Van Dr. Mart. Lutherns*, 1902. 2. Zulu: *Amazwi aketiwcyo ezibalweni ezingowele, aketelwe isikolo sabantwana ukucasisela i Katekismuse lika Dr. Martin Luther. Nau E. Minkner*, 1902; 3. Secoana: *Le Katekisma ka pno ca secoana, by Missionary Westphal*, 1902; 4. Tschekaranga: *Katechisma duku ca Dr. M. Luther*, by Missionary Westphal; 5. Xosa-Kaffer: *Luciane incwadi yokufundisa ka Dr. Martin Luther*, 1901. Besides these there were published by Fr. Heese: *Handbok tot den kleinen Katechismus des Dr. M. Luther*, 1897. Of translations made by Hermannsburg missionaries we name the following: The translation into Zulu for Natal and the Zulu country; into Sechuana for the Bechuanas in Transvaal; into Dutch for the Oorlamches in Transvaal; besides these the revised catechism of Walther which was originally intended for Hannover is used in abbreviated form; otherwise the missionaries use the outlines of Luehrs. The Barmen Society published Luther's Catechism in three languages: in Herero, in Nama, and in Oshindonga. For the East Cape Colony the Moravians translated it into Castrian: the Schreuder Mission (Norwegian) into Zulu for Natal and the Zulu country. The Norwegian Mission Society and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America brought out a Zulu translation of the Sverdrup-Pontoppidan (small edition; see under Norway). The Finnish Mission translated Luther's Catechism into the language of the Ovambo. We are unable to name the translations brought out by the Swedish Mission for their work in Natal

and in the Zulu country, because our questionaire received no answer, but it has been translated at least into Karanga.

*EAST AFRICA and MADAGASCAR.* In what was formerly German East Africa, a territory almost double the size of Germany, Bethel, i. e., the German East African Missionary Society, the Moravians, the First Berlin, and the Leipzig Societies are at work. Bethel worked its way from Dar-es-Salam and Tanga into the interior and before the war achieved considerable success in the mountainous regions of Usambara and in Ruanda between Lake Victoria and Lake Kivu. Since 1925 the German missionaries are back at their tasks. Bethel uses Luther's Catechism and has translated it into the Chambala language which is spoken in Usambara. Whether the Brecklum Mission, which came to the assistance of Bethel and began operations in Uha, has succeeded in this short period of time in preparing a translation, I am unable to say; the management reported nothing concerning it. In 1891 the Moravians opened stations in the Conde Plateau on the north shore of Lake Nyassa and worked northward and westward. Before the war they had 15 stations and 1781 baptized members and 719 candidates for Baptism. Their missionaries translated Luther's Catechism into the language of the Kinyakiusa and into that of the Kinyamwesi. In Unyamwesi where the Catechism of Luther has been translated into the language of the Kinyamwesi, there is also a catechism with explanations. It is based upon the Danish catechism of Balslev (see under Denmark), the Moravians working here being of the Danish branch of that communion. The First Berlin missionaries also began work on the Conde Plateau and worked northward toward the coast, thence into the healthful region of the Livingstone mountains, occupying these high lands, and then continued along the plateau extending eastward toward Sanguland. Before the war this organization had 20 stations and 4000 baptized converts. Its

missionaries have translated Luther's Catechism into four languages: 1. into the language of the Suaheli: *Katekisimo ao Ufmundsho wao wakristo* (by Missionary Klamroth, 1909) 2. into the language of the Kinga: *Katekisimu va vana va Vakinga* (by Missionary Huebner, 1909); 3. into the language of the Conde: *Katekisimu gwa Banakyusa* (by Supt. Nauhaus, 1911); 4. into the language of the Kibena: *Katekisimu ja Vabena* (by Supt. Schumann, 1913). Supt. Schumann also wrote, in collaboration with Missionary Hahn, a guide to catechism instruction for the use of colored teachers. Since 1925 this Society has been back on the field.

In 1893 the Leipzig Society began its work in Djaggaland at the foot of the Kilimanjaro and extended its stations thence to the adjacent highlands of the Meru and Pare ranges and into the steppes of Iramba. Before the war this society had 3667 baptized converts at 14 stations and 8583 pupils in 97 schools. Its men translated the Catechism of Luther into the language of the Suaheli, the Kimoschi, and the Masai. Missionary Blum, hailing from Esthonia, published in the language of the Masai a catechism with explanation which had been written in Esthonian by Martin Koerber upon the basis of the New Strelitz catechism, and which had been used extensively in his homeland since 1864. The title of Blum's translation is: *Katekismos Kinyi natisira Dr. Martin Luther* (Leipzig 1926). The territory of the Swedish Augustana Synod of North America borders on the Leipzig field. Here too, Luther's Catechism is used. It may be said in passing that there is also a German Evangelical congregation in Dar-es-Salam, which is under the jurisdiction of the Berlin Consistory, and which very probably uses Luther's Catechism. Kambaland lies in the territory north of what was formerly German East Africa up to Lake Juba and Lake Victoria, which has been a British colony since 1890. In 1886 the Hersbruck Mission, later absorbed by Leipzig, began operations

here. Luther's Catechism was translated into the language of the Kamba. In 1914 this territory was ceded to the African Inland Mission. It is doubtful if this society continued the use of Luther's Catechism. The Neukirchen Mission along the western coast and on the Tana River does not use Luther's Catechism.

On the island of *Madagascar* missionary work was begun in 1866 by the Norwegian Mission Society; since 1892 they have had the support of the Norwegian Lutherans of America, the Norwegian Lutheran Church and the Norwegian Free Church helping them at the present time. In the first years, Luther's Catechism was translated into the language of the Hova. According to the *Erindringer* of Lars Dahl this translation was even used by the Anglicans (S. F. G.) until they had produced a literature of their own. Later the Norwegians made translations into the language of the Taisaka, the Sakalava, and the Bara. For an explanation, H. U. Sverdrup and the abbreviated edition of J. K. Sverdrup are used, both of which have been translated into the Hova dialect; efforts are being put forth to make this dialect the standard language of the entire mission. Use is also made of the exposition by Johnson which likewise has been translated from the Norwegian. According to a report from *L'Inspecteur Ecclésiastique André Meyer* of Beaucourt Luther's Catechism is also used by the Paris Lutheran Mission which has a station at Fianarantsoa.

*NORTH AFRICA.* The fact that Islam dominates all of North Africa makes this the most difficult field for the Evangelical missions; and yet Luther's Catechism is not entirely lacking here. Since 1866 a Swedish organization (*Fosterlands-Stiftelsen*) has been working in the northern and southern border provinces of Abyssinia, in Eritrea, which is under the Italian protectorate, and among the wild tribes known as the Galla, and also in Somaliland, which like-

wise belongs to Italy; there are 12 central stations and 2690 Christians. Translations were made of Luther's Catechism into no less than six languages, into Tigrinya, Tigré, Kunama, Galla, and Amharic for use among the various tribes in Abyssinia, as well as into Suaheli for the work in Somaliland. Just recently Hermannsburg sent out its missionaries to labor among another branch of the Galla, and they no doubt will bring Luther's Catechism also into these parts.—In the Sudan, extending westward and northwestward from Abyssinnia, the Wiesbaden Sudan Pioneer Mission is at work. It does not, however, use Luther's Catechism. On the other hand, it is used by the Norwegian Society in Hausa and Fulani; likewise by the workers which the American Augustana Synod has sent out, if their work has already progressed that far.—In Egypt there is a Swedish Mission which in 1911 separated from the *Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* mentioned above. In Alexandria and Cairo there are German Evangelical congregations which are slowly recovering, and Deaconess hospitals founded by Kaiserswerth—at Cairo the deaconesses from Kaiserwerth have been again admitted. This indicates at least some use of Luther's Catechism. In Tunis there are representatives of the *Föreningen Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare*, whose headquarters are in Stockholm; this warrants the same conclusion inasmuch as this society elsewhere uses Luther's Catechism, for instance in India. In Algiers the Lutheran Church of France has a number of congregations which use Luther's Catechism.

4. *WEST AFRICA.* In West Africa very little mission work is done by the Lutheran Church; for this reason practically no use of Luther's Catechism can be traced. The Lutheran General Synod (now a part of the United Lutheran Church in America) has been active in Liberia for many years, but hitherto only the Gospel of Mark, but not the Catechism, has been translated into Kpelle. The Gossner Mission (the Sec-

ond Berlin Mission) had just established its first station when the World War broke out. The Norwegian Lutheran Brethren of America thus far have only two stations in French Sudan, and the "Sudan Mission" which was begun by the friends of a Norwegian, A. L. Gunderson,—Gunderson himself is laboring in equatorial Africa—is only in its beginnings. The Swedish Mission Federation which has its stations in the Belgian Congo, does not use Luther's Catechism. The same probably obtains in the case of the Danish branch of the "Sudan Mission," which is situated in Nigeria, and of the "Norwegian Free Evangelical Mission" in the Belgian Congo. The Basel Society is active in Camerun, using the Brenz-Luther Catechism and the *Wuerttemberg Konfirmandenbuechlein.* The Bremen or North German Mission operates in Togo and uses a book which to some degree is based on Luther's Catechism, and also the *Wuerttemberg Konfirmandenbuechlein.*

## IV. Asia

1. *WESTERN ASIA.* In Palestine the German Evangelical congregations of Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem are associated with the German Federation of Churches (*Kirchenbund*). Then there is the Syrian Orphans' Home with all that is connected with it. Third, there are the German and Swedish Jerusalem Societies and the Finnish Mission Society who work among the Jews and Mohammedans. All this indicates the use of Luther's Catechism; that this is so in the case of the German Jerusalem Society I have been assured by the leaders of that organization. There are translations into the Arabic and the Syrian. In Syria there are two German Evangelical congregations, one at Beirut and the other at Smyrna, both now under the Berlin Consistory; perhaps Luther's Catechism is used here. It is not used by the Danish Oriental Mission which has taken over a field that formerly belonged to the Presbyterians. In Arabia (Aden) the "Danish Church Mission for Arabia" main-

tained a small Mission for the Mohammedans prior to the War, but at the present time the field is unoccupied, and no reliable information concerning the use of the Catechism can be obtained. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent the Catechism is used by the various societies laboring in Asiatic Turkey, especially among the Armenians, such as the Kaiserswerth Deaconess Mission, or the various branches of the German Oriental Mission; for these fields have not sufficiently recovered from the effects of the War. In Persia we find the "Society for Lutheran Missions in Persia" with headquarters at Hermannsburg; it is now receiving support from the "Lutheran Oriental Mission" of the United States and is particularly interested in the Kurds of Kurdistan. These people have translated Luther's Catechism into New Syrian for the Nestorians and, if we correctly recall a statement once made by Missionary Fossum, they also translated it into the language of the Kurds (1912). In Turkestan the Swedish Mission Federation is active, but Luther's Catechism is not used by them. In fanatical Afghanistan and Beludschistan and among the 15 millions of Mohammedans of the former Russian Empire it has been hitherto impossible to do any mission work.

2. *INDIA. In the Indian Empire* seven, or perhaps eight, Lutheran Societies are at work, all of which use Luther's Catechism in translations. We shall begin at the south. The old Danish Halle Mission already used it. On the 9th of July, 1706, Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau landed at Tranquebar and already in 1707 Luther's Catechism was complete in manuscript and used in teaching. In 1713 it was printed in the mission printery. I have not been able to find a copy of this edition, but the edition of 1730 is preserved at Halle. The title page is reproduced in this book; for this is the second translation of Luther's Catechism made in the service of missions among the heathen. The Catechism was also translated into the Portuguese for the benefit of the

half breeds living in and about Tranquebar and understanding this language. We reproduce the title page of the Portuguese edition of 1713. A translation for the Danes residing here was not necessary, but the Danish edition of 1693 was reprinted at Tranquebar in 1722 (*Det Kongl. Danske Bogtrykkeri;* see Bang, *Dokumenter* etc., II, Christiania, 1899, p. 304). The languishing work of the old Danish-Halle Mission was taken up by the Dresden, later called the Leipzig, Mission, which since then, interrupted only for a time by the World War, has covered the country of the Tamil from Madras in the north to Madura in the south with a network of mission stations. Luther's Catechism in Tamil is even today the official textbook of this Mission. Besides this they have published a complete *Handbook on the Lutheran Catechism* for the use of teachers, and D. Zehme's *Practical Theology*, a work written in Tamil (1928), also contains a Catechetics. Leipzig has carried on (and still does) its work in collaboration with the Swedish Society for Missions, which later became the Church-Mission of Sweden. Besides the Leipzig and Swedish Societies, the new Danish Society, organized in 1821, took up work in the Tamil territory in 1864. This organization also uses Luther's Catechism. In 1866 the Missionary Mylius, who had been sent out by Leipzig, offered his services to Hermannsburg and began operations in the land of the Telugus. Thus it came about that Luther's Catechism of Hannover of 1862 (Walther 1651) was published in Telugu. It is still used even though this Mission has passed into the hands of the American Lutheran Ohio Synod. About twenty years later (1881) the Schleswig-Holstein or Breklum Mission entered the north of the Telugu-land where sections of the interior touched upon country in which the Udiya language predominates; the center of this mission is today in Jeypur and Kalahandy. The stations at Salur and Parvatipur use Luther's Catechism in Telugu; at Jeypur in

Udiya.—Besides the German societies already named, the Lutheran Church of America also had a mission field in the south of India. Pastor Heyer sailed for India in 1841 in the service of the American Lutheran Missionary Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and began work among the Telugus. In 1845 he translated Luther's Catechism into their language. Later the General Synod and the General Council worked side by side. Today both fields are united as a mission of the United Lutheran Church in America. For an exposition that of Stump is used which has been translated into Telugu. Since 1893 the Missouri Synod also has an East Indian mission; it came into existence when a number of missionaries separated from the Leipzig Society. This field is situated among the Tamil in the Salem, North Arcot, and Mysore districts; since 1907 also in Travancore. The Missourians have translated Luther's Catechism into the Tamil and the Malayalam; likewise their synodical catechism (Schwan). At present they are engaged in translating it into Urdu in the interest of the Mohammedan mission.

From this work in southern India we turn to that which was undertaken in the north in 1842 by the Gossner Society (Second Berlin). The field lies on the Ganges River in Bihar and the adjoining provinces, and since 1845 especially in Chota Nagpur among the Kols who are of entirely divergent linguistic and racial stock. The Gossner Mission uses the Catechism of Luther, but since the desired information was not given, we cannot say into how many languages it has been translated, probably into four: Hindi, Bengali, Mundari, and Uraon. There are about 140,000 Christians among the Kols who have learned the Way of Salvation from Luther's Catechism. Santal, which lies in the northern part of the province of Bihar, is the scene of the labors of the Danish Santal Mission, from whence it reached out to Parganas, Malda, Dinajpur, and as far as Assam. By

its missionaries Luther's Catechism has been translated into Santali, Mech, Hindi, and Bengali. In Santal, Parganas, Assam, and also in Birbhum, there are fields belonging to the Norwegian Santal Mission where Luther's Catechism is used in Sengali and Bengali. The abridged edition of Pontoppidan is used for an exposition. In the province of Bengal the Finnish Free Church Mission also operates; whether Luther's Catechism is used here, I was unable to ascertain. The *Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare,* a Swedish society, has translated it into Bengali. Work is being done in the central provinces of India by the Swedish *Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen* which has had Luther's Catechism translated into Hindi.

On the western coast of India, from the northern boundary of the kingdom of Kotschin in the south on up to the Dekhan sections of Bombay in the north, Basel has had a large mission territory since 1834, but (just as in West Africa) Basel does not use Luther's Catechism but the Brenz-Luther and the *Wuerttemberg Konfirmandenbuechlein.* The Swedish Alliance Mission, working in Bombay since 1902, and the Norwegian Free Ev. Foreign Mission, which began in 1920, do not use the Catechism of Luther.

Mention should be made here of the Mission of the Moravians in Tibet Minor and in West Himalaya (since 1857). It translated the Catechism of Luther into Tibetan. In Farther India (Burma and Siam) there is no Lutheran Mission, and in large Indo-China no evangelical Mission at all.

3. *CHINA AND JAPAN.* A large number of Lutheran Missions are at work in the large Chinese empire. The German societies began in the southern province of Kwangtung. Here the Basel and Berlin Missions labor among the immigrant peasants of the Hakka; the Barmen Mission among the native, more cultivated Punti; besides these, the Berlin

Women's Society for China maintained a foundling hospital in Hongkong, and the Hildesheim Mission for the Blind before the War supported several asylums for blind Chinese girls in Kaulun, Kayintschu, and Schautschufu. In the provinces Chekiang, Kiangsu, Hunan, Kweitschau, and Szechwan there are groups of German mission stations or isolated German mission points which work in the federation of the China Inland Mission, especially the Barmen China Alliance Mission and the Liebenzell Mission. In Kiautschau the Berlin Mission and the General Evangelical Protestant Mission Society began work in 1898. We are interested in Basel, Berlin, Barmen, and the Hildesheim Missions, because they use the Catechism of Luther. Basel also uses it in China and possesses a translation in the Hakka language. Berlin I has translated it into the same tongue while Hildesheim and Barmen have it in the Chinese of southern China.—The Scandinavian churches, usually with the help of the corresponding Lutheran synods of the United States, have given themselves with much energy to the missions in China. Thus I find six Norwegian and six Swedish Societies besides one Danish and one Finnish society at work here; of these, three Norwegian and three Swedish organizations have no interest for us because they do not use the Catechism and do not even claim to be Lutherans. All of them are in the northern provinces. The Danish Mission Society labors in Manchuria and uses the Catechism of Luther in the Chinese of those regions; it also has Balslev's explanation (see Denmark) in translation. The Finnish Mission Society has 75 workers in the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh and uses the Catechism of Luther there. Hunan is also served by the Norwegian Mission Society, which uses the Catechism of Luther in the Mandarin language; the explanation used is the joint work of several missionaries. The Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association has its terri-

tory in northwestern Hupeh and in southwestern Honan; it has, besides the Luther text in Mandarin, a translation of H. U. Sverdrup, the explanation based on Pontoppidan. The Norwegian China Mission labors in the province Shansi, as does the Norwegian Ev. Luth. Free Church whose mission, however, was not begun until 1915. Sverdrup's abridged edition is used also by the Norwegian Lutheran Church which works together with the Norwegian Lutheran China Association in Honan, Hupeh, and Shantung; likewise the Mission of the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church, whose missionary Ingwald Daehlin edited Sverdrup in Chinese and whose field also lies in Honan. In Honan and Hupeh there are also missionaries of the Church of the Lutheran Brethren. In the same provinces and in Sinkiang the Swedes are active, the *Svenska Missionen in Kina,* the *Svenska Kyrkans Mission,* and the *Svenska Missions-Foerbundet,* as well as the American Augustana Synod, all of which use the Catechism of Luther. The Missouri Synod is likewise represented in Hupeh and has translated its synodical catechism (Schwan) into Mandarin. The United Lutheran Church in America in the field recently taken over from the First Berlin uses the Catechism of Luther in Mandarin which had been already introduced.—I do not know whether the Catechism of Luther is being used by the German Ev. congregations in Tientsin, Peking, Schanghai, and Tsingtau. In *Japan* the Finns have distributed the Catechism of Luther since 1900, and since 1908 the U. L. C. has done likewise. The missionaries of the latter also translated the excellent *Catechist's Handbook* by Horine which is based on Kaftan, but it has not yet been printed.—Here also there are two congregations affiliated with the German *Kirchenbund* (Kobe and Tokio), but perhaps the influence of the General Evangelical Protestant Mission Society is so strong that the Catechism of Luther is not used in them.

4. *SIBERIA.* In this extensive territory there were before the war about 150,000 Lutherans of Esthonian, Finnish, and other stock which were connected with the Lutheran Church of Russia. Its centers were Tobolsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, Bulanka, Finnish deportation colonies in West Siberia, Werchnje-Sujetuk, Wladiwostok, and Akmolinsk. Among the remnants which are now being gathered again, the Catechism of Luther is certainly to be found (cf. Meyer, *Nach Sibirien im Dienst der ev. luth. Kirche,* Leipzig, 1927).

5. *DUTCH INDIES.* Into this far-flung island territory with the large Sunda Isles Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and Borneo, the Catechism of Luther entered from two directions. First through the Rhenish Society which was called by Holland to aid in the Christianization of its populous colonies (including the western half of New Guinea the population is estimated at forty millions). In the course of its extraordinarily successful labors it has translated the Catechism of Luther into the Batak language on Sumatra and into the Nias language on the island of Nias west of Sumatra. Of the Batak tribes there were in 1925, 233,069 Christians who had been instructed in Luther's Catechism; 19,000 are added annually. On Nias there are 65,136; on Borneo only 4,000 in spite of eighty years of work. Whether the men sent by the Gossner Society to the scattered Sangir and Talaut Islands to care for Christian congregations of older times which they were permitted to increase to 86,805 souls, use the Catechism of Luther I could not find out, but it would be in accordance with their usual practice. The Catechism also entered into the Dutch colonial territory by way of Holland. According to information received from Prof. D. Pont, Luther's Catechism was translated into the Nias language by W. F. Schroeder, Missionary of the "Restored Lutheran Church of Holland," on the island of Nias.

## V. Australia and Oceania.

On the continent of *Australia* and on *New Zealand* two Lutheran bodies work among the Germans living there: the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia, associated with the Missouri Synod, which numbers 69 pastors and professors and 15 parochial school teachers (N. S. Wales 9, Queensland 11, South Australia 43, Victoria 15, West Australia 2, New Zealand 4). It uses the German and the English Catechisms of the Missouri Synod by Schwan. Then there is, since 1921, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia which resulted from a merger of the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Church Federation. The former included the Emmanuel Synod of Southern Australia, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Victoria, and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland (its pastors came from Basel); the Evangelical Lutheran Church Federation, on the other hand, consisted of the Evangelical Lutheran Emmanuel Synod (its pastors came from Neuendettelsau) and the German-Scandinavian Synod of Queensland (its pastors came from Neuendettelsau and Hermannsburg). Since 1926 the Australian District of the Ohio Synod with seven pastors also merged with the United Lutheran Church. Thus it consists of 79 pastors (South Australia 38, Victoria 8, New South Wales 5, Queensland 22, and 6 who are no longer in active service), 298 congregations, and over 27,000 baptized members. According to the character of its constituency, it uses various editions of Luther's Catechism: that of the former General Synod of Australia, that of the American Ohio Synod, that of the United Lutheran Church in Australia, that of the author, and others. The small group in New Zealand (2 pastors and 7 congregations), the Danish, the Swedish, and the Finnish congregations also use the Catechism of Luther. I do not know whether or not there is a printed

edition for the mission station of Hermannsburg on the Finke River with its excellent missionary Albrecht, and for the Station Hope Valley in North Queensland where Missionary Schwarz has worked for forty years, but it is made the basis of instruction at both places. The Moravians, who worked in New South Wales and in North Queensland, translated the Catechism into the language of the Papua in North Queensland.

In Melanesia, the Gossner Mission is active in the Dutch part of the mighty island of *New Guinea;* that vouches for Luther's Catechism. In the former German part (Kaiser Wilhelmsland, now Australian mandate) Neuendettelsau has been active since 1886 in the neighborhood of Finschhafen and the Huon Gulf, and the Rhenish Mission on the Astrolabe Bay. Since the war the latter missions are under the control of the United Lutheran Church in Australia and the American Iowa Synod; now the Neuendettelsau Society is again admitted to co-operation. On Astrolabe Bay the Lutheran Mission is in touch with 35,000 to 40,000 natives and has (March 1928) 6,000 baptized members and several thousand candidates for Baptism; about Finschhafen and the Huon Gulf the mission is in contact with 120,000 and has 30,000 members. The Catechism of Luther was translated into Kate in 1913, into Ragetta in 1916, into Lae Womba in 1920, into Yabem in 1923. Missionary Wullenkord also furnished a translation into Amele. Before me lies: *Ley yagoliy* (bust picture of Luther) *We to lom dabuy yagoliy ma. Katekismi to mec,* 1927 (*Printed by Lutheran Mission, New Guinea*), a well-printed booklet of 188 pages which contains, in addition to hymns, prayers, etc., the Small Catechism and a small collection of Scripture passages taken from my explanation of the Catechism.—On the *Hawaiian Islands* there is a German Lutheran congregation in Honolulu where Pastor Dr. Hoermann uses the Catechism of Luther.

In view of the streams of blessing which have flowed from Luther's Small Catechism, especially on the field of foreign missions, we do not believe that Dr. Hennig's suggestion (*Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift,* 1928, July and August) of a new mission catechism (primarily for Africa, "for which the Small Catechism would indeed furnish one of the best models" p. 249), will so soon be adopted, even though we are convinced that on the field of foreign missions, still more than within the older parts of Christendom, the Catechism belongs not at the beginning but at the conclusion of instruction. That takes us to the next and last chapter.

# 14. Luther's Catechism Today

THE PRECEDING chapter has shown that Luther's Catechism even today, four hundred years after its first appearance, enjoys a wide circulation and that it is in use in many parts of the globe. During the last decades, however, the Catechism has been the object of serious opposition, especially in Germany. The Christian *Volksschule* of Germany is an outgrowth of the *Kuesterschulen* which were a product of the Reformation and which were primarily catechism schools. For centuries following the Reformation it was the Church which fostered the schools. But today in the mother land of the Reformation a movement of strong proportions is under way, which, seeking the complete separation of Church and State, endeavors to eliminate not only instruction in the Catechism, but even religious instruction itself. To describe this struggle in detail would require a book in itself, for the opposition to the Catechism took its rise from various philosophical, religious, theological, pedagogical, and political tendencies which either singly or in curious combination made war upon it. Moreover, the controversy involved the very nature of the German school, its homogeneity, and its non-religious, religious, or confessional character, while within the ranks of the confessional school it involved the interpretation of the confessional idea and the relation of instruction in Biblical History to instruction in the Catechism. We can here describe these tendencies only in outline, and in doing so we shall bear in mind the influence the political revolution in Germany exerted upon them.

### 1. Before the Revolution.

Already at the "General German Teachers' Convention," which was held in Vienna in 1870, and to which we have referred in Chapter XI, Dr. Dittes demanded that "religious instruction in the public schools shall be free from theological influence and constraint and that its organization and execution shall rest entirely with the teachers"; so long as this demand was not met "religious instruction was to be excluded from the school completely." In the same year Dr. W. Fricke, who has already been mentioned, emphasized the same thought in his book *Ist der Religionsunterricht in der Schule eine paedagogische Notwendigkeit?* and demanded the removal of religious instruction from the schools; the important things about Biblical History and Church History could find a convenient place in General History. This demand of a school without religious instruction has been repeatedly made since that time, especially at the conventions of the Teachers' Associations. Thus the teacher, Otto Ernst, succeeded by means of his address of 1880, *Religion oder Literatur als Zentrum des Volksschulunterrichts,* in moving the largest organization of teachers in Hamburg to the adoption of a declaration calling for the elimination of religious instruction. The removal of religious instruction from the schools of France, the fact that it was made optional in Belgium, Switzerland, England, Italy, etc., the constitutional and traditional non-religious character of the state schools of the United States of North America, changes in political outlook with the resultant change in the views pertaining to the relation of the school to the state, the spread of the monistic idea,—all did their part in fostering these endeavors, which finally received unambiguous expression in the memorial of the teachers of Bremen in 1905. Based on monistic ideas, this memorial militated against religious instruction thus: "The cultural development of our time, as it has been brought about especially by the progress of philosoph-

ical and scientific education, has firmly entrenched in the minds of modern, thinking people the conviction that the preserving and ruling principle of the world is one, that it is immanent in the world and that it operates according to eternal laws; that the law of cause and effect pertains to the course of events within the world, and that it does not justify the assumption of a second world that is removed from our sense perception and experience and which arbitrarily and especially in connection with our moral attitude is supposed to reach into the activities of the physical world." Religious instruction was to be replaced by instruction in general morality in the sense of general information concerning life and the world, as had already been done with reference to the *Musterstuecke* in the German classes. A course in general religious history in which all the important religious systems were to be considered objectively was not to be introduced before the seventh school year. About Christianity the Bremen teacher, Gansberg, said: "Christianity no longer includes all of life; indeed, as the life of mankind becomes richer and deeper, it is beginning to disrupt Christianity. Christianity is a sinking world." Enthusiastic declarations in behalf of this program were made in: *Religionsunterricht? Achtzig Gutachten. Ergebnis einer von der Vereinigung fuer Schulreform in Bremen veranstalteten allgemeinen deutschen Umfrage.* And yet for the time being the plan was not carried through. In the following year (1906) the German Teachers' Convention meeting in Muenchen rejected it and declared in favor of the retention of religious instruction in the schools. They remembered that religion is one of the "original possessions of all human souls." "There may be people who have no religion, just as there are people without sight or hearing; but man has religion" (Weinel). They bore in mind the purpose of religious instruction which in harmony with the nature of man consists in laying a foundation for religious and moral per-

sonality, but that our moral and religious outlook is inseparable from Christanity. The words of Fr. Paulsen (Rein, *Stimmen zur Reform des Religionsunterrichts,* II, 34) were not without their influence when he said that the Christian religion is an essential part of our culture and already for this reason should not be taken out of the schools: "In our intellectual life, even in the present day, there is nothing of significance that does not require a knowledge of Christianity and its literary monuments in order to be properly understood. Even Haeckel and Nietzsche, whom the (Bremen) memorial names, are conditioned by Christianity, as Antichrist is by Christ. Or one may take our literature and philosophy, Lessing and Kant, Schiller and Goethe, or one may consider painting and the plastic arts, architecture and music: without a knowledge of Christianity as the great historical *Lebensform* of occidental civilization, there is no avenue of approach to them. Even political history, down to the present, is in a large measure orientated by Christianity and the Church."

But what was to be the nature of religious instruction? There was no lack of voices which espoused the cause of unconfessional religious instruction. W. Wundt of Leipzig wrote in his *Ethics* (2nd edition, 1892, p. 61): "Strangely enough there are those today who mean to serve the cause of religion, who yet declare unconfessional religious instruction worthless and who pronounce all religious education which is not conducted upon the basis of a definite confession as identical with non-religious education. Out of respect for those who make such statements we must assume that they are not aware of the implications of their words. For if it were really true that not the life and teachings of Jesus, but rather the *Confessio Augustana* or the decrees of the Council of Trent constitute what we today call the Christian Religion,—then in every probability not only the think-

ing people, but also those who are truly religious would turn away from it. And what notions we should have concerning the value of religious training if it consisted primarily in the dogmas which, as is well known, originated in a complicated give-and-take between religious ideas and philosophical systems, and which are comparatively harmless for the child, only because of the obvious reason that they are usually learned by the memory and not by the heart. It is not in these artificial systems of ideas, which the theological ingenuity of the ages constructed, but rather in the simple teachings of Jesus, which are suited to every stage of intellectual development, and in those human parts of the New Testament purged of the mythological discolorations of an age that lusted after miracles, that the true values of Christianity consist." O. Pfleiderer of Berlin said in his theses concerning religious instruction in the schools (Rein, *Stimmen der Reform des Religionsunterrichts,* I, 1904): "The theological statements of confessional books are a secondary product of the reflections on the part of ecclesiastical teachers upon the internal relationships of the Christian faith and upon those things that distinguish it from other ways of believing. They do not serve the religious life of the individual so much as the needs of an organized religious communion which finds it desirable to fix its faith in a form that can be imparted and taught and that marks it off against all alien elements. The training of children in the dogmatical Confession of a definite Church is not the business of a school whose purpose it is to train children not for membership in a definite denomination, but rather to lay the general religious foundations for a Christian moral life." Pfleiderer suggests that the proper place for instruction in the Confession of a particular church is the confirmation class. Even an educator like Doerpfeld, devoted as he was to the Church, regarded it possible to select "fundamental

religious materials" from Biblical History which "are essentially the same in contents and form for the schools of all Confessions", and which "above all implant not the doctrines peculiar to a Church, but the consensus of all denominations in the hearts of the children." Neither does he regard this instruction as final, but rather as the point where ecclesiastical instruction may set in. In the *Simultanschulen* these ideas were put into practice in so far as the religious instruction was conducted by the regular teacher of the school. However, there lies at the bottom of all these endeavors a failure to appreciate the fundamental differences between the Confessions. As if, to name only one thing, there would be no difference in the moral training that derives all true morality from grateful love toward Him who in Christ has made us His children, as did Jesus, Paul and Luther, as contrasted with the moral training which regards morality as but a means of earning salvation or at least of becoming assured of salvation! For catechism instruction there is here no place, and education for membership in the church in which the child was born and into which it was baptized does not exist.

As opposed to the views we have been considering, there were other representatives of the Church and of the Herbart-Ziller school of pedagogics, who demanded confessional religious instruction in the schools. Not only exponents of an unabbreviated orthodoxy like Caspari and Buerckstuemmer, Knoke, Eckert, and Steinbeck; not only disciples of Ritschl like Doerries, Spanuth, Matthes, Niebergall, and Kabisch; and not only educators like Doerpfeld (notwithstanding his views on the possibility of non-confessional religious instruction, which was mentioned above), von Rohden, and Just; but also distinguished representatives of pedagogical science, who are far more strongly under the influence of the Herbart-Ziller system, such men as Thraen-

dorf, Rein, Staude, and Reukauf—all of these lifted up their voices in behalf of confessional instruction in the schools. Thraendorf, for example, had written repeatedly upon the subject of reform in religious education and had summarized his thinking on the matter in 1903 in *Allgemeine Methodik des Religionsunterrichts.* He takes as his starting point his conviction that in the interest of true education and culture the religious and ethical factors must receive due attention. This can be achieved, he believes, only by confessional religious instruction, "because the religious communions whose activities and purposes are of the greatest importance to the well-being of the people must needs assimilate the youth of the land unto themselves and thus make their position secure" (see also the 5th edition of *Allgemeine Methodik des Religionsunterrichts,* 1912, p. 38 ff.).

But does this energetic retention of confessional religious instruction already imply the use of Luther's Catechism? By no means, answer some of the leading advocates of confessional instruction. For the question of the relation of Biblical History and Catechism is still to be considered. That the historical materials are of prime importance, is conceded by all. This is the most significant fruit of the Herbart-Ziller school of pedagogics—though there were others working in the same direction—; in its way the new psychology of religion has arrived at similar results. That concepts are derived only from perception, is the cardinal principle of the first; that religious and ethical ideas can be understood and made vital only in connection with the contemplation of religious and moral life, whose expression they are, and that only thus religious life can be called into being, is the cardinal principle of the second. Both of these views make it necessary to accord to Biblical History the place of first importance in religious training. This gives rise to the question whether the presentation of the religious

life of Biblical personalities is sufficient, or whether the truths discovered in their lives are also to be gathered up and expressed in definite statements, and impressed upon the soul, and if this be true, should these definite statements be organized and summarized into a whole and if such a summary is desirable, is Luther's Catechism suited for that purpose?

It was the influence of the new psychology of religion (Wundt and James) which led to the first of these views. It was thought that according to the principle mentioned above, the important thing about religious instruction was the presentation with gripping vividness and "contagious" warmth of the deeds and experiences of unusual spiritual personalities—A. E. Krohn (supplement to No. 28 of *Paedagogische Reform,* Hamburg 1909): "Emotions cannot be taught, but they infect,"—in order that the children may perchance be drawn into the kind of life that has been described and in some mysterious manner in the deeps of the soul come in contact with God—"meeting God." All emphasis is here laid upon the feelings, upon the reliving of the life that has been portrayed. For the thoughts and truths which these great religious personalities expressed or which they exemplified in their lives, there is less interest. Still less is it regarded as one of the purposes of religious instruction to develop, in collaboration with the children, from the lives that have been portrayed, certain definite truths and convictions; and least of all to build up an organic whole, a "system" of such truths, as there is in the Catechism, or is supposed to be. The Catechism of Luther is relegated to a place under the head of Church History, where it is made to serve as a personal testimony of the hero of faith, Martin Luther, and where it helps to make Luther a reality to the children. Kabisch of Duesseldorf in *Wie lehren wir Religion?* (1910, p. 20 ff.) brilliantly advocates these views in his valuable discussion of the thesis of A. Bonus, H.

Vollmer, and F. M. Schiele—that religion cannot be taught (first presented at the convention of the *Freunde der christlichen Welt* at Eisenach, 1900). He made this fundamental demand: "Instruction shall create experiences!" (p. 117 ff.). He arrives at the conclusion that "the materials of religious instruction can only be of an historical nature," for "only narratives can produce experiences." "When historical events are presented with that poetic ardor which enables the fancy of the hearer to see and to feel, they will become real experiences with all the original emotional agitation and volitional tension, which follows therefrom." "It cannot be stated too often and too plainly that the important thing is this: The materials that are visualized in religious instruction must be experienced with the emotions, so that the children in the religion period may be made to admire, revere, hate and love, to feel moral indignation and inspiration, to fear and to be lifted up, to feel depressed and liberated." Later (page 205) he suggests how the discussion which follows the presentation is to be conducted, but this is only of secondary importance; it should be brief and terse, and it is hardly more than an accommodation on his part to the traditional methods of the school, as he himself says on page 131: "I have observed that when I am teaching children—and I do not except the first and second year after confirmation—interest is keen so long as poetry and fancy play upon the historical materials. But as soon as I rise to the general truth and to the entrenchment in a definite sentence of the feelings experienced, interest wanes, sometimes with surprising abruptness. Interest is undoubtedly essential to effective teaching. A statement that is accepted with indifference leaves no impression upon the mind. I see the reason for this in the will of the pupil, not in will as conscious purpose, but in will as unconscious tendency of the striving soul. The striving of the child is directed to

the experiences of fact and not to the apprehension of laws." See also Richert, *Handbuch fuer den ev. Religionsunterricht,* 1911.

What attitude shall we take toward this view? That the portrayal of religious life is the surest way to awaken religious life, is a truth we cannot give up. That experienced educator Zange of Erfurt said in his excellent *Evangelischer Religionsunterricht* (Muenchen, 1897, p. 152): "The best thing we teachers can give our pupils, aside from our own good example, in all our dealings with them, is that we make possible for them associations with personalities whose lives attract and give power. This happens when we do not merely use the story as a starting point, but when we portray the people of sacred history so vividly that the children feel as if they were beholding them, living with them, as if they hear their heart-beats, that they might think with them, feel with them, lament with them, pray with them, plan with them, strive with them, bear burdens and griefs with them, suffer with them, believe, hope, love with them, and sing, rejoice, triumph with them." We may put it as we did in our *Catechetics* in 1914 (p. 338): "That was what God the Father did when He sent His Son into the world in order that mankind in Him might learn to know the Father, the Father's nature and essence, His holiness and His love. Indeed this was not the only purpose of the coming of Christ, but it was one of them (John 14:9; Matt. 11:27), and stood in closest relation to the work of redemption. It was the method of Christ who said to John and Andrew: 'Come and see' (John 1:39, 46), who said to the emissaries of the Baptist: 'Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see' (Matt. 11:4), who in His effort to lead men to faith did not elaborate definitions and arguments concerning God, his own Person, and the Kingdom of Heaven, but rather offered Himself

and permitted men to derive opinions, experiences, and judgments from the contemplation of His own will, from His overwhelming saviorhood, from His divine-human life as the Redeemer (John 4:42). This was also the method of Paul who 'evidently set forth Christ crucified before the eyes' of his Galatians (Gal. 3:1). But to be content with this mere portrayal of the religious life would be possible only for those who regard religion as primarily or wholly a matter of feeling, sentiment, or mood. But those to whom Christianity of necessity includes 'sound doctrine,' as it did for Paul (2 Timothy 4:3), and for whom there can be faith without clear and certain spirit-given knowledge, and for whom Christian life, in so far as it is willing and doing, rests upon clearly perceived truths—they will not regard this portrayal of the religious life as sufficient." They will rather regard it a duty by way of such portrayal, it is true, to seek clearly perceived truths and ideas, and clear cut convictions. In other words, they will need a "Catechism."

This was to a large extent granted. Pastor Katzer of Loebau (*Das Judenchristentum in der relig. Volkserziehung des deutschen Protestantismus,* 1893), for instance, emphasized (p. 123) this: "Perceptions without ideas are blind. If religious experiences are not reduced to definite statements they remain hazy and vague." He even went so far as to declare (p. 175) that the nature of the child demands definite formulation for the "thoughts of faith," for "they really formulate themselves: they come to the surface with irresistible force from the religious experiences we have had." The educators of the Herbart-Ziller school emphatically espoused this view, among them such men as Doerpfeld, Thraendorf, Rein, Staude, Gruellich, von Rohden, Bang, Just, and others. They made this the purpose of the *Katechismusstufe* in the treatment of the individual Biblical story; the religious and moral implications of the story are

to be clearly grasped, definitely stated, and firmly established in the mind by means of a verse of Scripture or a stanza from a hymn, or even a sentence from a catechism. Thus the pupils with the help of the teacher bit by bit elaborate their own catechism. When the instruction in Biblical History or Church History is completed, the "Catechism" is also complete, regardless as to whether time is taken at the close of the year to assemble what has been gathered and to mould it together—as Doerpfeld recommends, *Gesammelte Schriften* vol. 2, I, 116 f.—or not. In Rein, *Theorie und Praxis des Volksschulunterrichts, achtes Schuljahr,* Staude among other things, writes: "The fundamental materials of religious instruction in all classes is Biblical History, in the treatment of which we strive at every step toward the goal of building up the catechism in the soul of the child. That is to say, we seek to provide the soul of the child with a well-ordered system of religious and moral ideas, principles, and convictions, a system withal which has firmly established itself in the mind and which has been acquired by the child itself. We therefore do not teach Biblical History and Catechism in succession to one another, nor side by side, but we teach them as one subject. In each school year we teach only Biblical History and only Catechism. That is, we unite into an organic whole these hitherto separated disciplines by making the Bible stories the experimental and perceptual basis, while the doctrinal statements formulated in the Catechism piece by piece emerge from the Biblical materials treated. Moreover we have an invaluable advantage in being able to strike the iron of perception and interested attentiveness while it is hot, whereas with the usual method it has already cooled, or, to speak now without figure, we give the clear and living perceptions of the child ample opportunity to crystallize into definite form, and by going into a particular situation assure our-

selves of the pupil's interest, and we do not detain him longer than needful in the task of making abstractions and later do not find it necessary to drive him to the labor involved in the abstractions, which would very likely be the more embarrassing as it would have to be done with mental images which have long since become vague and unclear."

Is there still such a thing as independent instruction in Catechism, say, in the upper class of the school? Meltzer and Thraendorf answer in the negative. Meltzer says: "Experience teaches that children have no need of a system. They have neither desire nor capacity for lengthy abstractions. Thus I do not believe in the absolute necessity of a system of faith and morals elaborated into a catechism to be used in school and home." Thraendorf has this to say: "A Catechism that is also a Confession, which is shouldered upon religious instruction as a special subject matter and as a course of study, will ever remain an alien element." "I regard special catechism instruction as superfluous and even of doubtful pedagogical value. When from contact with the 'heroes of religion' the pupil has acquired understanding for and interest in the ways of God in history, love for Jesus Christ and His Church, then he understands the Confession as far as he is able, at his age, to do so, and the interest that has been aroused will insure further search and deeper insight. A special course of instruction in the Catechism is always in danger of falling into verbalism and of depriving the Confession of the warmth of feeling that may be derived from its history and from actual life. The Catechism as a Confession must be the goal of religious instruction, not the starting point of a special course of instruction" (*Allgemeine Methodik*, 1912, p. 190 f). Compare these remarks with the *Zwickauer Thesen* of 1908 (see below). Many others, however, were of the opposite opinion. Katzer, a theologian, demands that ideas and statements be ordered into a system: "All experts in ped-

Gustaf Peringer Lilliebladh.

# LUTHERI Catechismus/

Öfwersatt
på
American - Virginiske
Språket.

Stockholm/
Tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. Mayt. privileg.
BURCHARDI Tryckeri/af J. J. Genath/ t.

Anno M DC XCVI.

PLATE FOURTEEN: Title page of the first American translation, 1648, 1696 resp.

*A EXPLICAÇAÕ*
DA DOUTRINA CHRISTAÃ
SEGUNDO A ORDEM DO

# CATECISMO

DO B. LUTHERO,
EM PERGUNTAS E REPOSTAS
PROPOSTA,
*E COM NECESSARIOS TESTEMUnhos da ESCRITURA SAGRADA provada:*
TRADUZIDA EM LINGOA PORTUGUESA
pelos
MINISTROS DA PALAVRA DE DEUS E MISSIÒNARIOS DEL REY DE DENNEMARK.

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*TRANQUEBAR*
Em India Oriental na Coſta de Coromandel, na Eſtampa dos ditos Miſſionarios.
No Anno de 1713.

PLATE FIFTEEN: Title page of the Portuguese translation printed at Tranquebar in India, 1713

agogy will grant that anything which is logically arranged and which is founded upon consistent principles, is more easily learned and retained than mere conglomeration. The clearer and the more in accord with the rules of thought, the more readily retained." Even Doerpfeld later demanded a special connected systematic course of instruction, for in the appendix to the monograph *Denken und Gedaechtnis* (vol. 1, p. 160) he says: "That the doctrines of faith and morals which in the lower classes have been developed from the Bible stories should be treated as a whole, that is independently, in the more mature years, cannot be doubted." In this he was joined by Rein, Staude, von Rohden, Just, Bang, and others. While these men were scarcely justified in demanding a system, for that indeed goes beyond the need and capacity of pupils of the age of 12 to 14, they were yet entirely justified in saying that the school dare not dismiss its pupils without having gathered up the details and the particulars of the truths which have been arrived at, as well as the sentiments and the challenges to the will, in a popular, childlike form that will be at once impressive and easily remembered. This is not beyond the horizon of the children, neither does it exceed what is possible for children emotionally to experience, and it is well suited to serve as a foothold and guide in later life.

Is such a summary still to be made or do we have one, let us say, in Luther's Catechism? This was most emphatically denied in the Zwickau Theses of the Teachers of Saxony. Like Meltzer and Thraendorf, they were opposed to any kind of summarized course of study; but their animus was directed chiefly against the use of Luther's Catechism in the schools. The fifth thesis reads as follows: "The *Volksschule* must reject systematic and dogmatic instruction. In the upper divisions the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Lord's Prayer may serve as a suitable basis for a summary of the moral truths of the Christian Religion. Luther's Catechism

cannot be so used; neither can it be made the starting point of religious training. The Catechism is to be esteemed as a document of religious history and as a Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." In general these theses (see especially No. 4 and 3) represent not so much a contribution to the question of method as a departure from the conviction that the Scriptures are the revelation of the God of Salvation in Christ Jesus. The "refined moral sensibilities of the present day" and the "certified results of scientific research" shall determine what is of permanent importance in the Scriptures. The teachers were merely carrying to the final conclusions what modern theology or many normal school heads had taught before them. We call to mind only the introductory chapter in Thraendorf's *Methodik* concerning *das neue Weltbild und die religioese Weltauffassung,* and the statements concerning the inadequacy of the Ten Commandments and the Apostolic Creed as subject matter for religious instruction by H. Lietz in *Neue Aufgaben auf dem Gebiet des Religionsunterrichts* (*Aus dem paedagogischen Universitaets-Seminar zu Jena* VI. and VII). Lietz says: "It cannot be denied that the Ten Commandments teach only a negative morality, a morality that is not ideal and therefore ineffective. Moreover, they teach an objectionable form of utilitarian ethics, to which prophets and philosophers of all nations, especially Jesus of Nazareth, opposed a higher and more noble morality. That the second Chief Part, the socalled Apostolic Creed, was able in our day to weather the attacks not only of reason, but also of ethical piety, is due wholly to the *quosego* of those in ecclesiastical and political power. He who seeks the foundations of simple, Christian piety in a form suited to our time, will look here in vain: instead he will but find the seeds whence later unwholesome dogmas sprang." Or we might mention *Die religioese Frage und die Schule* by Auffarth, or such statements as these of Meltzer in *Das Alte Testament im Religionsunterricht* (1899): "The

contrast between the religious and moral views of Jesus and the Christianity of the Catechism is so great that it could fail to become apparent only so long as there was no vital consciousness of the historical Person and religion of Jesus. Now that we posses this historical understanding of the Person and religion of Jesus, we can no longer teach the Catechism, because we should spend all our time discussing the polemic of the 'evangelical' Jesus against the contents of the Catechism." We may also call attention to the remarks of O. Baumgarten in *Neue Bahnen. Der Unterricht in der christlichen Religion im Geist der modernen Theologie* (1903. p. 69ff.). Speaking of the Catechism, he says: "The Catechism is the expression of mature experience of others; it is not a childlike, individual experience which the children are asked to express. For children the Catechism is petrified. Their own individual experience in matters of faith and morals will not admit of so rounded an expression, for their experience is still in a state of flux and limited in its extent. It is thus most questionable to ask children to make their own the 'I' of the Lutheran Catechism: 'I believe that Jesus Christ has redeemed me a lost and condemned creature etc.' That is a direct inducement to hypocrisy. Its use is an intolerable compulsion, especially for teachers who think along modern lines and who have successfully studied modern theology. This becomes particularly painful in the explanation of the Second Article and of the Sacrament of the Altar where Luther's dependence upon medieval ideas becomes strikingly evident." Or we might mention a statement by O. Ritschl—the source we cannot give at the moment—: "For generations, if not for centuries, unnumbered human beings have been damaged in their sincerity, disquieted in their consciences, and hampered by artifice in the formation of moral character and in the healthy development of piety when in the name of religion, but often by morally reprehensible means, they are obliged to accept in the course of religious training,

which is forced upon them, religious beliefs which are zealously guarded by ecclesiastical traditionalism but which are but the transcript of religious speculations of past ages, however genuine the faith that was once at their base." Ludwig Gurlitt, who since quitting the teaching profession felt called upon to work all the harder for the reform of education, was so vain as to venture to say in *Zukunft* (vol. 17, No. 6, p. 222): "At the beginning of the 16th century a monk wrote a religious textbook for German children. At that time this was a daring innovation, the delight of all free thinkers and progressives, of all who desired to serve the future. This book, which will soon celebrate its five hundredth (!) anniversary, is still the chief textbook of German children. The contents are so antiquated that the parents in their own minds reject almost every statement in it, and the language can scarcely be understood by present day people, especially the children in the rural districts and in Poland; but no matter, the children are obliged to force down this moldy food! How disdainfully we should laugh if something similar were to be reported to us about the schools in China!"

But there was no lack of defenders of Luther's Catechism. They arose even in the educational world. Dr. von Rohden and S. Bang, K. Just and P. Staude (in later life), and in a certain sense even A. Reukauf, and others, saw in Luther's Catechism a useful text for the last stages of religious instruction in the *Volksschulen*. A book such as Kaftan's exposition went through many editions. Steinmetz' *Katechismusgedanken* (1898 ff.), Doerries' work on the Ten Commandments (2nd edition 1912) and on the Creed (1. edition 1901, 6. edition 1920), Matthes' *Berechtigung der bekenntnismaessigen Lehrstoffe im Religionsunterricht* (1914), and even Niebergall's *Biblische Geschichte, Katechismus, Gesangbuch* (1910),—were all influences which either directly or indirectly were of benefit to the prestige of Luther's Catechism. The authorities

in church and school did not permit the removal of the Catechism from the curricula, much as they desired improvement in the method by which it was used. New explanations for church and school appeared, among them the following: that of Steinmetz (2. edition 1892) and that of O. Hardeland (1890-1913 in 40 editions). Among the defenders of the Catechism, Bang (1909), Rendtorff (1910), and Eberhard (1912) tower above the rest. The Catechism received important practical treatment in Eger's *Jugendlehre* (2. edition 1912), in Hackenschmidt's *Wegweiser zu den Segensquellen Gottes* (2. ed. 1913), and in Bezzel's posthumous sermons and addresses on certain of the Chief Parts. A. Hardeland's *Luthers Katechismus-Gedanken in ihrer Entwicklung bis* 1529 (1913) and O. Albrecht's *Die Katechismen Luthers* (1915) rank high among the historical treatises dealing with it.

In the critical days when the waves of the storm caused by the Zwickau Theses ran high, S. Bang, superintendent of education, delivered his Leipzig address, *Luther's Kleiner Katechismus ein Schatz der Volksschule.*" It was on June 3, 1909. This theme he proved in four directions: Luther's Small Catechism is a religious, an ethical, a national, and a pedagogical treasure of the *Volksschule.* I quote the following sentences from it: "When instruction in Biblical History is what it should be, namely when it is so vivid that the children relive what they have heard, the time comes when the multiplicity of impressions and emotional experiences reaches out irresistibly for a summarizing statement, for a key that opens the door to a proper understanding of the whole; and for their own attitude toward the facts and persons of sacred history, they will seek a terse but comprehensive expression, a Confession. In a Confession head, heart, and will are one and inseparable. The side of religious instruction which looses the tongue as it were and speaks the wonder-working "Ephphatha," is the Catechism lesson, which I should like to see called Confession-instruction, for it satisfies the desire for intensification, expression, witness bearing, and strengthening of the faith. Who will provide the child with such a Confession? Who will unite these waters, large and small, of the flooding spiritual life into one sea? Who will arrange the ideas and clothe them in language that will be suitable and precious to youth and age, to man and woman, which will meet the individual

and subjective demands of each soul, but which will at the same time be universal and objective enough to serve a religious communion both as a worthy expression of its faith and as a means of arousing its spirtual life? Where is the man who embodies the noblest elements of our German people, who is at once the dreamer and the fighter, who knows the tender restraints of the ideal and the reckless love of freedom, in a word, where is the man in whose breast the mightiest contrasts of his nation were welded into a harmonious whole and who therefore understood the soul of the German people intuitively, through whom Christianity in its union with Germanism received a timeless expression, who had the soul of his people in his hand as the artist his lyre, who constrained even his enemies to speak his language, and think his thoughts? There is only one answer to this deluge of questions and it is the answer which every German, who does not do violence to his heart, is ready to give: Luther! And the gift of his religious and national genius to his people is his Small Catechism."

"Doerpfeld, that master of pedagogic art and science, who is powerful also in religious testimony, has in the *Enchiridion* which he added to his monumental work, *Die Heilslehre genetisch entwickelt,* proved to every one who will read that we must still wait for another Luther if we think we need one for the school. Doerpfeld's book is a classic for the desk of the teacher of religion, but does not belong into the school. It shows that Luther's Catechism is vastly superior to all "prepared" religious textbooks.—In 1867 Luther's Catechism was taken out of the *Volksschulen* of the Duchy of Gotha. It was replaced by the *Leitfaden fuer den Religionsunterricht.* The theological creator of the little book was Karl Schwarz. His chief advisers were the pedagogical experts, Karl Schmidt and Friederich Dittes. And the man who fostered and reared the intellectual offspring of this brilliant triad and who guarded it and guided its footsteps, was the distinguished theologian Karl Kehr. The child was thus born under a most promising constellation. And with what success? After it had been used for many years, the aged Inspector Moebius declared: "I am weary of office; but there is one thing I should like to achieve before retiring: to get the Catechism of Schwarz out of the school and to restore Luther's."—The Herbart School endeavored to produce a Catechism with a view of improving upon Luther. The task of writing it was assumed by the seminary head, Dr. Staude, a representative of the school, and a scholar most adequately equipped both theologically and pedagogically. He devoted perhaps twenty years to the task. But in 1900 he modestly resumed his place as a pupil of Luther with the confession that he

could not write the promised catechism because he had come to think differently about Luther's Catechism after he had gone into it thoroughly, and he evinced his gratitude to the master by writing an excellent exposition of the Lutheran Catechism. In the same year in the preface to his *Christenlehre auf Grund des Kleinen Lutherschen Katechismus,* the aged Beyschlag confessed: "The hope that the coming century will provide us with so classical and popular a Catechism as Luther's is very faint. The attempts and the achievements of the first decade of the new century in this direction are calculated to reduce these hopes to the freezing point. They show us that he who would avoid the Scylla of dreary rationalism will fall into the Charybdis of esthetic nonsense. Only Luther's Small Catechism has light and warmth, truth and beauty to offer in this field. Though almost 400 years old, it still has the freshness of youth."

Professor Rendtorff of Leipzig in 1910 published two able treatises with the title: *Das Problem der Konfirmation* and *Der Religionsunterricht in der Volksschule.* In the second of these, after exposing the shortcomings of traditional Catechism instruction with a great deal of emphasis, he said: "Nevertheless the Christian home, far beyond the bounds of Lutheran circles, will not cease to entreat the *Volksschule*: Give our children the Catechism! I shall refrain from substantiating this entreaty by calling attention to the words of praise which have ever been accorded the Catechism by those who have known and used it. I shall only mention in passing that the giving over of the Lutheran Catechism of necessity would lead to the introduction of some other summary of instruction based upon Biblical History, if indeed the school were not prepared to abandon the recognized didactic principle that since perceptions without concepts are blind, the presentation of concrete materials must be followed by abstract and connected statements. Now where is the educator who would undertake the task of preparing such a summary of the Christian faith which would be an improvement upon the powerful popular Confession of evangelical Christendom, surpassing it in pedagogical wisdom, and at least approximate it in simplicity, depth, and power? But I let that pass. I shall rather try to answer the weightier of the objections that have been made against the Catechism on the part of the *Volksschule.* They are the following: Its high religious pretensions are unsuited to children; its artificial dogmatics, especially its extravagant Christology, runs foul of simple evangelical piety; it obliges people to accept matters they do not desire and thus leads to insincerity and disgust with religion; its optimistic attitude toward divine government of the world is untenable

in view of the inexorable laws of nature. I shall answer these objections by means of a brief catechetical presentation of at least the first of these sections of the Catechism which are most under fire. I do not say that the presentation is the only possible one, as little as it is on traditional lines. But I do assert that it is proof of the possibility of treating the Catechism so simply and comprehensively, so sincerely and in so child-like a way that its full and unabbreviated contents is presented."

O. Eberhard, at that time seminary director at Greiz, in 1912 (Berlin) published a small book entitled, *Der Katechismus als paedagogisches Problem* in which he gave many excellent hints as to methods which may help the teacher in bringing life into his treatment of the Catechism. He demands an undogmatical presentation, not in the sense of the Moderns who feel they must be well rid of all dogmas, but in the interest of the child which indeed is gripped by the central truths of the Scriptures when they are offered as answers to the highest needs and problems of life, but which are beyond its capacity when they are divorced from life and presented largely or in part as merely authoritative doctrine. "Why do children, withal in their unsystematic way, seek a *doctrine* of sin, a *doctrine* of God's being and attributes, a *doctrine* of justification? These are certainly fundamental truths which are found everywhere in the Catechism and in which from Chief Part to Chief Part our minds are exercised and which we therefore shall in no case depart; but these truths are to be arrived at by simple exposition and not by doctrinal insinuations, and by continuous treatment in the development and intensification of the lessons. It will not do, for instance, to have done with 'knowledge of sin' after the conclusion of the Ten Commandments and to fancy that the completion of this 'preliminary' just makes room for other things. If we go forward in this undoctrinaire manner each new doctrine finds its place beside an old one, refreshes it in the mind and yet both remain individual. Teachers are urged, if nothing else than for the sake of experiment, to follow Luther in the classical structure of his explanations, without however infusing elements alien to it or without attempting to repeat the sentences of the Catechism in dogmatical form; they will soon see that they have everything to gain, and little to lose." Eberhard's second and third demands are closely connected with this. The second has to do with the necessity of facing in the catechism class the problems of real life and the riddles of existence, no matter how difficult it may prove to present these matters; the third deals with *Lebenskunde* in the treatment of which the teacher must elicit the cooperation of his pupils.

The storm that centered about the Catechism of Luther was instrumental in calling into existence the *Saechsischer Evangelisch Lutherischer Schulverein* (1909). This society regarded as its chief task the rebuttal of attacks upon the Catechism, the fostering of interest in it and appreciation of its worth, and the establishment of its use in the schools. By the publication of the "Red Catechism" ("What may be done with Luther's Small Catechism together with Bible verses and hymns according to the proceedings of the Teachers' Association of Saxony 3 January 1910, Dresden 1910"), the Society made clear to the most obtuse what was at stake in the controversy. It was called "The Red Catechism" because it presented in red the text of Luther's Catechism and all of the Bible passages and the hymn stanzas which the liberal Teachers' Association wished to eliminate. In 14 months 120,000 copies were sold.

### 2. After the Political Reorganization

The victory of the Revolution at once made its influence felt in the Church and in the school, and since Luther's Catechism was an official textbook in the schools of so many parts of Germany, the Revolution of course effected it in particular. Before the upheaval, separation of church and school had been effected only in Bremen, Hamburg, Luebeck, Saxony-Koburg-Gotha, and Saxony-Meiningen. In these places the school was unconfessional and without ecclesiastical supervision. Public *Simultanschulen* with separate religious instruction existed in Baden and Hessen, in part in Bavaria, Alsace Lorraine, Prussia, and Saxony-Weimar. In Anhalt, Brunswick, Lippe-Detmold, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Reuss-Greiz, Reuss-Schleiz-Gera, Saxony-Altenburg, Schaumburg-Lippe, Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, the evangelical schools were confessionally Evangelical or Evangelical Lutheran. Religious equality in the schools was observed in Bavaria, Alsace Lorraine,

Oldenburg, Prussia, Saxony, Saxony-Weimar, Waldeck, and Wuerttemberg. We cannot relate here how the new authorities attempted to take religion out of the schools and how this attempt failed because of popular objection. Nor can we tell how the Church was given the opportunity of taking over all religious instruction in the schools, but timidly and fearfully drew back from this difficult but glorious—and only correct—solution of the problem (*Luth. Jahrbuch,* Dresden, 1919, p. 82 ff.), until on July 31, 1919 the German Constitution definitely accepted the section on *Bildung und Schule* by which the *Simultanschule* was made standard, with the proviso that non-religious schools and strictly confessional schools may be instituted at the instance of competent persons. The whole matter is reliably presented in detail by the Director of the *Allgemeiner Ev. Luth. Schulverein,* Dr. G. Kropatscheck, in the *Lutherisches Jahrbuch* (1919), the first part of which deals with "Church and school since the revolution." The Constitution put in prospect a general school law which should regulate the matter in detail, but it has not yet been passed, so that today the legal aspect is what it was before the Constitution was adopted. Concerning developments since 1919 trustworthy information may be found in Schneider's *Kirchliches Jahrbuch,* and the periodical of the *Allgemeiner Ev. Luth. Schulverein* (*Ev. Luth. Volksblatt*) edited by Kropatscheck. We must limit ourselves to the most important facts concerning the use of Luther's Catechism.

On the 29th of November 1918 the Prussian ministry of ecclesiastical and educational affairs had already ruled, "that it is not permitted in the religion classes of the schools to assign home work, in particular memorizing of parts of the Catechism, Bible verses, Bible stories, and hymns." On December 2, the Saxon ministry of ecclesiastical and educational affairs gave out the following statement: "Beginning with New Years' Day 1919, instruction in Biblical History is to be

limited to two periods and instruction in the Catechism shall cease altogether." On June 3 the *Volks-Kammer* passed the following resolution: "Religious instruction is no longer given in the *Volksschule*." In Mecklenburg (27th of December, 1918) weekly religious instruction was reduced to two periods, which of course left no room for the Catechism. In Brunswick the Assembly removed religious instruction from the schools. In Saxony-Altenburg the Catechism as a textbook was given up. In Hamburg all religious instruction was banished from the schools on January 1, 1919. Antichrist was abroad. Happily, a strong reaction set in immediately. The *Ev. Luth. Schulverein* of Saxony extended its sphere by becoming the *Allgemeiner Ev. Luth. Schulverein* and as such sought, with the help of the *Deutscher Bund fuer christlich-evangelische Erziehung in Haus und Schule,* and other organizations, to emphasize the Lutheran Catechism. The same was done by church authorities, especially in Lutheran territory. In many places courses in the Catechism were instituted to take the place of the instruction banished from the schools, as was done in Dresden and Hamburg. The period of confirmation instruction was lengthened; catechists were trained; a seminary was founded for the training of Evangelical teachers; the Lutheran World Convention (1923) declared for the retention of Luther's Catechism, while in many places such as Bavaria it was restored to its place in the school; it appeared in new editions, with and without explanations, and was accorded in its rightful place in textbooks on Catechetics.

We shall also assemble here a few statements by leading men of the day: Secretary of State, von Beck (1919, in *Wir und unsere Kinder, Schriften des Allgemeinen Ev. Luth. Schulvereins,* p. 5): "May scriptural religious instruction remain the inalienable and inviolable treasure of all the things taught in our Christian schools, for it alone can give to our youth the moral values needful for the struggles of life and the moral regeneration of our people." In the same pamphlet (p. 6), Superintendent Dr. Buchwald says: "Whoever

would form an opinion of Luther's Catechism or would teach it, let him first read Luther's essay, 'A simple Way to Pray for a Good Friend.' Then let him use the Catechism according to the directions Luther gives here. And when thus from day to day the Catechism has become a personal experience, a confession, and a prayer, then let him judge of it and attempt to teach it." Vice President of Consistory, Dr. Dibelius says (p. 7): "Shall our young people suffer spiritual impoverishment because it is found undesirable to impart to them early in life the grace of God, and to give them upon the journey of life the sunshine that emanates warm and clear from Luther's Small Catechism? I feel compassion for the people." Oberkirchenrat Nitsche (p. 18): "Only stupidity and conceit can reject the Catechism. To him who apprehends it with his heart, it will reveal the wonderful things of God." Dr. C. Roscher, ministerial director, says (p. 20): "Next to the Bible, Luther's Small Catechism is no doubt the most priceless possession which we can make our own. Its fullness of contents, its simplicity, and its depth make it a book for every stage of life; this has impressed me particularly, since in my old age I have been trying during my walks to study it anew." Professor Dr. Ihmels (*Welche Aufgabe hat die Bekenntniskirche fuer die Erziehung ihrer getauften Glieder?* 1919, p. 13 ff): "As the goal of instruction the Catechism cannot be given up. There may be debate as to the question if some matter might not better be reserved for confirmation instruction, such as the section on Baptism and the Communion. But in its proper place we cannot dispense with it, for two reasons. In the first place all knowledge demands summarizing and generalization, so also religious knowledge. . . . Then, too, religious knowledge and faith above all things must lead to a confession of faith. To this the Catechism is an incomparable guide. If religious instruction would keep in mind the future and would particularly prepare for the days that are to come, then it will be essential to provide the child with a storehouse of memorized material from the Bible, the hymn, and the Catechism. We know indeed that these things are today most seriously called in question. But I frankly confess that I find this increasingly difficult to understand . . . Certainly, words of Scripture and of the Catechism are meaningless in a life that is led outside the pale of the Christian faith. But every pastor knows what a treasure the Christian possesses against the decisive moments of life in that Word of God which he has firmly made his own upon the road of memorization." Pastor Ad. Mueller (*Der Katechismus als Buch des christlichen Hauses,* 1919): "As a school

book the Catechism is dead. What does this mean? The Catechism is not only Luther's most popular book. It is the only book of the great Reformer, which,—by way of catechetical training—became the intellectual possession of our entire nation in so far as the latter is Evangelical. Yes, it is the only monument of classical German, which every pupil was made to memorize from the first to the last word. I should be at a loss to name another book in all classical literature of which the same could be said. From the purely cultural standpoint, the exclusion of the Catechism has created a void which nothing in the world can fill. The removal of the Catechism sets a milestone upon the road of cultural retrogression." "Well, the Catechism will rise again. Perhaps not as a school book. But certainly as a church book. Already the Church is taking steps to repay the debt it owes the Catechism. But it will be far more important, much more far reaching in its consequences, and far richer in blessing, if Luther's dear little book can once more be made to be what it was originally intended to be, namely the Book of the Christian Home. But perhaps Luther's explanation is no longer suited to the times? There are several insignificant linguistic difficulties which can no longer be understood without help. To some extent, antiquated and obsolete forms have in recent editions been removed. Others may, if necessary, with due reverence still be removed. But the truth about these linguistic difficulties is that the child that grows up in the Catechism, overcomes them without the least trouble. In point of contents the Catechism is as timely now as it was on the first day. Let us test this. Who could explain the first commandment more tersely, strikingly, classically, and more clearly than Luther? How timely in its opposition to our false fears of people and germs, against our false trust in Hindenburg and Wilson, and against our false love of ourselves. Not 'Deutschland ueber alles', but God 'ueber alles!' The first article: 'Clothes and shoes . . . cattle, and all my goods.' In peace time we thought this enumeration smelled too strongly of the soil and had no place in the big city. Well, the war turned our eyes upon the countryside. My children learned the meaning of the first article during the War. We have no acres, but the weekly five pounds of bread were to us a greeting from the acres which God prepared for us somewhere, and through which he daily and richly, i. e., sufficiently, supplied us with the necessaries of life. We have no cattle, but the half liter of milk—which our youngest still gets—and the few grams of butter brought the greetings of the kind cow which He keeps in some stable for us. And

in the midst of war cares and privations, we confessed with Luther: 'For all of which I am in duty bound . . . to thank Him'. Antiquated? And the suggestion of the fourth petition that 'peace', 'pious and faithful magistrates', 'good government', 'good weather', also belong to 'daily bread' — when could we have realized the truth of this so clearly and painfully as in these times? Quite timely, is it not?" When Niebergall wrote his *Praktische Theologie* in 1919 (see II, 301), he thought it might be best if in place of Luther's Catechism "something entirely new might be written", but he was obliged to write at the same time (p. 298), "Luther's Catechism is also from the standpoint of the faith, which is conceived in the sense of the Reformation, a marvelous production. So far from being a 'system', it is a five-fold description of Christianity as viewed from its various aspects; a description, moreover, which is thoroughly practical and vivid, and in which Luther, drawing from the depths of his own personality and spirit, was able to give utterance to so much of universal Christian truth in the ideal-religious sense, that millions of Christians still get their bearing from it." In 1921 Professor Dr. Ihmels republished his excellent lecture: *Der Katechismus als Lebensbuch*. From it we take the following: "The Catechism is not only a school book, and not only a confessional book, but it is a life-book (*Lebensbuch*). If our congregations generally no longer realize this, faulty methods of instruction may to some extent be to blame. Let us confess it, it is likely that the Catechism too often served as a rack upon which all manner of beautiful, and often somewhat less beautiful, ideas were hung. No doubt those who did so were actuated by the true assumption that religious instruction must deal in clear ideas and concepts. It is a strange delusion that religion thrives most in the uncertain twilight of vague feelings. But explanations of Luther's Catechism, it is obvious, must strive to explain the words of the book to children. It is to be feared, however, that many of these explanations went so far afield that its simple words became enshrouded in darkness rather than made clear and alive. At least it has happened to me again and again, that I was surprised to find after years of experience in its use, how much there is for the Christian life in the simple words of the Catechism. For this reason I have always, in my own work, and in the visitations that I was called upon to make years ago, insisted that the words of the Catechism should first be made vital to the child. The goal of instruction must be that the children learn to speak it, confess it, and pray it." "The very introduction seems to me to be one of matchless beauty.

How does it begin? The answer is: the law, and that is of course true. But we must not overlook that at the beginning of the law we find a word which impresses us as being a summary of the whole gospel: I am the Lord thy God. 'I am the Lord thy God', are the words that greet the child when it opens its Catechism. In order to feel the power of these words and in order that others may feel it, we must at once be on our guard against the attempt to analyse them in detail. We must not try here to present fully the doctrine of the divine attributes. The very grandeur of these words consists in that God does not begin with information concerning His essence, but that He contents himself with the giving of His Name—which of course was full of meaning for the pious Israelite—and announces to His people Israel that He will be their God. When these words have once been accepted and appreciated, then shall Israel experience in its subsequent history more definitely who this God is and what He will do for His people. Now what was told to Israel as a nation must in its New Testament interpretation be told to the smallest child that opens its Catechism. God wishes to assure even the smallest child that opens the Catechism: 'I am the Lord thy God and thou shalt be my very own.' Should it not warm our hearts whenever we open the Catechism and find ourselves greeted by these words? The charge is often made against the Catechism that it contains so many things which are difficult to understand and which cannot be made vital for our time and people. There is this much true about this charge that not everything in it is at once clear to the individual and that some things in it require interpretation and explanation. So much the more we should be happy that the Catechism begins with words which are clear to everyone. Just the word 'Lord' (*Herr*) which Luther uses for the God of Israel is accessible to every awakened conscience. All spontaneously feel: if there is a God at all, then He must be the Lord of all. I maintain that so long as conscience is not entirely dead, the consciousness of God will be awakened without fail when God thus bears witness unto Himself. And now one may try to find how much is included in these words—for one's self and for others, but let us be careful to avoid lifeless concepts and distinctions. The objective must always be to magnify this great fundamental thought that this Lord desires to be my God. The Lord powerful over all, who holds even me in the hollow of His hand—He desires with all that He is and possesses to be my God. How that speaks to the heart! Now only one fear can possibly arise, namely that this might be so great a thing that we

should not dare believe it. In fact God had already substantiated these words in the Old Testament by reminding Israel of the deliverance from Egypt's house of bondage and that thereby He had made them His own (Ex. 20:2). And we may here think of how God gave Himself to us in Jesus Christ. Yes, so surely as God has fully offered Himself to me in Jesus Christ, just so surely does He desire to be my God and to have me for His own. It seems to me that if we were really to hear these words we should at once understand what a masterstroke it was when Luther clothed the explanation of the whole first commandment in the words: We should fear, love, and trust in God above all things. All that we owe to the God who has given Himself to us is contained in these words. That and more still. In the sense of Luther these words tell us what it means to have a God. Only he who fears, loves, and trusts in God above all things actually has a God." It was gratifying to read the words Professor Dr. Pfennigsdorf of Bonn wrote in behalf of the Catechism in his book, *Wie lehren wir Evangelium?* (1921, p. 228-260): "The reason why we teach the Catechism in school and church is to be sought not alone, nor primarily even, in its edifying qualities . . . but in its ecclesiastical significance. We have in the Catechism, above all in Luther's, the classical expression of the faith of the Reformation, which is the faith which our Evangelical Church confesses and with which it stands and falls. It is therefore an act of self-preservation on the part of the church that her members are made to grow into this faith and learn to identify themselves with it. And it is no less in the interest of the children themselves, for it is the tried and tested faith upon which their church is founded and with which they will in later life come constantly in touch in the various forms of its expressions, such as the church service, ministerial acts, and hymns. It is the great misfortune of our present church life that most Evangelicals are no longer familiar with this faith. The chief blame is to be laid at the door of religious instruction in church and school. For, good intentions notwithstanding, there is lacking a definite purpose of leading the way from personal faith to a sense of responsibility toward the church. This is above all things the purpose of catechism instruction. The Catechism must impress the child as an expression of the faith of the Evangelical *Church,* by the confession of which faith he is a member of that church, and in this relation must learn to find joy in its service." In 1925 Pfennigsdorf repeated his discussion of the Catechism (2 edition, p. 261-293). In 1923, Professor Meyer of Goettingen in his *Grundriss der Prak-*

*tischen Theologie,* p. 61-62, briefly, yet clearly and decisively, took a stand in favor of the Catechism: "The book is not (or scarcely) theology; neither is it a series of abstract ideas and definitions; it is rather a concrete vivid confession which even the 'simple' can understand, but which is capable of exercising the minds of the mature as well." In the same year the Lutheran World Convention at Eisenach declared: "In view of tendencies of the present day which are directed against Christian education and the confessional training of our baptized youth, the Lutheran World Convention calls upon all Lutheran Christians to take a decided stand in behalf of the Christian training of the young, and to do all in their power to have the Small Catechism of Luther retained." Among the many societies and associations, as well as among the unnumbered thousands of unknown individuals who during the past few years have memorialized the Reichstag in behalf of confessional schools, there was also a large number of those who had nothing else in mind than schools which used Luther's Catechism. Bavaria achieved this goal by virtue of the *Concordat* of the 24th of November, 1924, article 10 of which reads as follows: "In all *Volksschulen* religious instruction shall be a regular branch of study. Its extent shall be determined in conjunction with the church authorities and shall not be reduced below the present status." Article 12 reads: "It shall be granted to the church to supervise and direct religious instruction in all *Volksschulen,* intermediate schools, and in all higher schools. Three years later (1927) the Bavarian Synod (*Landessynode*) approved the new Catechism. Among the expositions of the Catechism for Home, Church, and School, which appeared during the past few years, that of H. Huebner of Corbach, first edition 1922, second edition 1927 with illustrations by R. Schaefer, ranks high. Huebner had already in 1907 published two essays entitled: *Was fuer einen Schatz wir an Luthers Katechismus haben* and *Wie laesst sich der Katechismusunterricht einfach, interessant und fruchtbar gestalten?* Waubke in 1924 re-edited his treatment of the Catechism for pastors and teachers, *In Luthers Spuren.* K. Kaiser and L. von der Decken published good directions for the use of the Catechism at home (1922). In 1927 Dr. Buchwald gave us *Ein Katechismusjahr,* a volume of daily devotions selected from Luther's writings according to suggestions from the Small Catechism. This book won the warm commendation of Dr. Ihmels for use in the Christian home. Dr. von Luepke *(Dorfkirche)* and Prof. Amelung *(Luth. Zeitblatt)* pleaded for a prayerlike use of the Catechism. G. Traue lectured on the best method of instruction in the Catechism

*(Der Katechismusunterricht in der Heimat,* 1928, p. VII). Prof. Bachmann delivered an excellent address and courageously advocated its use (Hamburg 1928). The Jubilee-year brought illustrated editions, aroused new interest in the great little book, and gave us besides minor books and pamphlets on its history and importance Meyer's excellent work *Historischer Kommentar zu Luthers Kleinem Katechismus* (1929). Even in unionistic Baden it seemed during the past years that Luther's Catechism might be introduced. Although this did not take place, the Catechism which was authorized by the synod of 1928 contains not only, as did the one formerly in use, Luther's explanation of the three articles of the Creed, but also his explanation of the Lord's Prayer. The new curriculum for the *Volksschulen* of Saxony (1927), again recognizes instruction in religion and names as textbooks the Bible and hymnary. This once more puts Luther's Catechism into the hands of the children, for it is printed with the latter. However, the refusal to reintroduce catechetical instruction was not only permitted to stand, but was expressly repeated in the appendix to the new curriculum.—We may perhaps make the following summary: The Church is reawaking to a sense of its duty and is making use of the treasure it possesses in the Small Catechism of Luther. The home has at least made a beginning in the employment of it. Though it has been restored to use in the schools of many territories, it is improbable that this will be done to any large extent in Central and North Germany. In Thuringia the *Gemeinschaftsschule* has been established which satisfies neither the church nor the free-thinkers. In January 1928 Sievers, the communistic minister of education, dissolved the confessional school and has introduced the *Gemeinschaftsschule.* The legal aspect of the matter is awaiting the decision of the courts, but wherever this innovation is made or will be made, the church and the home in many, many places will derive no benefit, because the teachers only rarely stand upon the Catechism in the full sense of the term. Only when all the members of home and church once more accept the Catechism, and when the church wrests from the state the right to take over religious training in its entirety and the privilege of arranging it according to its best judgment—as Dr. Traub of Stuttgart demanded with so much clearness upon the occasion of the first Evangelical Lutheran *Kirchentag* at Dresden in 1920—, unless indeed the church will rise to the establishment of church schools,—only then will the Catechism with its hidden depths of blessings exert its influence unhindered,

and will bring forth a new Lutheran generation which will be able to face the ever increasing storms unafraid.

The merits of Luther's Catechism render its retention and diligent use in home, church, and school of vital importance, not only in the present time, but also in the future. The objections against it are in truth not valid. They are brought either on dogmatical or pedagogical grounds. In so far as the dogmatical objections have reference to its interpretation of evangelical faith and life—thus, for instance, its testimony to the divinity of Christ, and the redemption wrought by the God-Man, to the physical resurrection of Christ, to man's lost condition without Christ, to the complete inability of man to do what is truly good, to Baptism as the sacrament of regeneration, and to Holy Communion as the sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ —in so far as the dogmatical objections have reference to its attitude toward these things, we pass them by, because our opponents have come to realize more and more,—and have at times conceded,—that Luther's interpretation coincides with that of the Gospels and the letters of the Apostles. In this we include his interpretation of the sacraments. The reader is referred to Zahn's Commentary on Matthew with its discussion of the pertinent passages; to Ihmels' address, *Das lutherische Verstaendnis des Abendmahls* (*Allgem. Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung*, 1928, No. 20); to Sommerlath's contribution to the Ihmels anniversary papers (*Luthers Lehre von der Realpraesenz*, 1928, p. 320 ff.); and to Laible's discussion in the same volume, p. 370 ff. (*Sind die Aussagen des Kleinen Katechismus heute noch haltbar?*) But if this is true, then we are fully satisfied, for we desire neither for our own person nor for the instruction of the rising generation any other interpretation of Christianity than that which is laid down in the New Testament; still

less if it is presented so simply and so free from mere scholastic opinion as is done in Luther's Catechism.

The situation, however, is modified in the case of those objections which are pedagogical and dogmatical, but which are not inspired by opposition to the New Testament. Here we are ready to grant that the Catechism has indeed often been treated—and still is—in a manner that flies in the face of all sound pedagogy. When children are made to memorize it at an age when they are not ripe for it; when they are made to memorize before the teacher has done anything to pave the way for it; when it is not well outlined so that the inner structure of the individual parts may become evident; when the exposition is not enlivened and illustrated with characters from Biblical history and fails to bring it into contact with the fresh, pulsating life of the present day; when the catechist endeavors to make a learned presentation that goes over the heads of the children as well as over the Catechism, and the children feel nothing of the warmth of the religious life of the teacher; when the teacher is not content to unfold the words of the Catechism with all their depth and fullness, but attempts by means of matters that belong in Sacred History to make of it something it was not intended to be; when the Catechism is developed into a system of dogmatics and its life and freshness are throttled: —when these things are done, then indeed the Catechism hour may become a painful matter for the children, and the tie between church and youth become weakened rather than strengthened. But how can the Small Catechism, this golden treasure, be blamed when it is thus maltreated and martyred? Shall it be charged with fault when it is used in a manner so contrary to its real nature?

When it is said that the First Chief Part is not suited as a basis of evangelical instruction for children because the Mosaic decalogue makes it necessary, artificially to carry

the children back to the inferior religious standpoint of the Israelites, and because it teaches an Old Testament rather than a New Testament ethics, then again a charge is laid at the feet of the Catechism for which only its expositors are to blame. Luther's exposition does not stop with single forbidden deeds, but finds in them the culmination of the prohibition which in turn must be developed positively and negatively. Luther, moreover, knows only one source of all God-pleasing religious and moral attitudes, namely fear and love of God; from these all else must spring. In this manner Luther has so thoroughly placed the decalogue upon New Testament ground that we may justly regard this as one of the chief excellences of the Catechism. Since this has already been discussed above (p. 141), we need in this connection add but one thing more with reference to the present form of the First Chief Part. Luther did not place the words, 'I am the Lord thy God', at the head of the Ten Commandments. They established themselves there through the influence of the Nuernberg Sermons for Children of 1533. Therewith the evangelical character of the First Chief Part was only accentuated. Indeed, not for him who would stray so far afield from the correct understanding of these words as to develop from the 'I am' the existence and the personality of God and from 'the Lord thy God' His essence and attributes. For such a teacher they are but an invitation to an exceedingly unfruitful—because unchildlike—and in this place superfluous and futile dissertation, which may perhaps conveniently revive in the catechist's mind what he remembers from dogmatics, but which can only repel the poor children who must listen to it. For the words of the introduction are to serve as an open door leading into the Father's house, beckoning and inviting to enter. When God gives His Commandments the superscription, 'I am the Lord thy God', or more definitely, 'I, Yahveh, am thy God', He opens

His heart and habitation and gives Himself to us with the fullness of His power, help, and grace,—all of which becomes clearer still when we recall that the name 'Yahveh' is the designation of God as the God who interferes for the purpose of our salvation. God does not begin with a cold, severe, difficult demand such as, 'Ye shall fear Me and love Me'; He rather begins by offering Himself to us, proving Himself as our God and Father by an act of salvation (liberation from Egypt, Baptism). And only then, after having given Himself to us as our God and Father and after having flung wide the door to the Father's house, does He open His mouth and present the regulations and the rules that shall obtain in His house, in the keeping of which His children shall prove their love for Him. By His love He desires to awaken our love, so that He may reap where He has sown. And is not this the basis of all true piety, that God gives Himself to us? On the other hand, is there an error more hazardous or a folly more fraught with grave consequences than the notion that man must laboriously achieve his way to God by means of keeping the law? We must therefore be grateful that the First Chief Part places this word, and with it the Gospel, before the Commandments, reminding us of our Baptism, the act of salvation through which Yahveh became our God and Father, upon the strength of which He now sets up His house-rules, according to which the children shall govern their lives, which they will gladly do if they really desire to be His children. The idea of the authority of God will not in this way be weakened; it will rather be made more effective. This coincides with Luther's views, for in his glosses to the decalogue of 1530 (Weimar, 30, 2, p. 358) he remarks concerning the words of the introduction: "Promissio, omnium promissionum fons et omnis religionis et sapientiae caput, evangelium Christum promissum complectens." In the

*Table Talk* Luther made a statement which has been quoted against these views (Erlangen edition, 58, 266 ff.), but this is due to a misunderstanding. For in the *Table Talk* Luther does not object to the inclusion of the words of the introduction, but rather to the fact that they had been counted as a special Commandment (Reu, I, 1, p. 451, 758 f.). In keeping with his general outlook, Luther could not fail to see that this signified the turning of a promise into a commandment and thus the suppression of a comforting Gospel at the beginning of the law.—From what has been said, it follows that the First Chief Part in no wise, as has been suggested, leads the children into a strange land with which they have no points of contact. On the contrary, just as in their own family life the father, who has given them life and who provides for them, establishes his rules for the house, so here in the introduction the Father in heaven opens the door to His Father-house, receives us into it, and then lays down His regulations. These things are easily within the mental horizon of the child.—Nor does the objection hold water that the explanation of the individual Commandments are too far removed from modern life. For by means of the sins and the virtues which he enumerates, Luther merely sought to give examples of obedience or disobedience, a fact that is clearly indicated in the 'etc.' of the explanation of the 9th commandment (in the original editions). Moreover, Luther emphasized in the Large Catechism that the fullest treatment should be accorded those parts which need it most. According to the intention of the Reformer there can, therefore, be no objection to increasing the number of examples of true fulfillment of the Commandments, taken from the life of today. Of course, we think that nearly everything that is needed may be found somehow in the text, and that more depends upon the development of what there is than upon the addition of new material. Ihmels

(*Der Katechismus als Lebensbuch,* p. 8) thus calls attention to the 7th Commandment: "From it we may derive the two great, decisive principles of sociology. On the one hand, it teaches us that by the will of God there is such a thing as property in the world. God encompasses it with the protection of a special Commandment. On the other hand, the 7th Commandment renders impossible the very thought that I may content myself with the care of my own property, and that my neighbor is simply to be left to look out for his. Luther expects us to help our neighbor to improve and protect his property and living. The 7th Commandment resists the false socialism which says to the neighbor: "What is thine, is mine," but it is likewise a call to the true Christian socialism which says: "What is mine, is thine." The 7th Commandment finds its complement in the 9th and 10th. Can an ethics be regarded as inferior which already lifts an accusing finger even against the hidden desires of the heart?" Nor does the Conclusion of the Commandments fall from the heights of New Testament faith and life, for the idea that God is a jealous God, who zealously seeks recognition as the only true God, is by no means foreign to the New Testament, for it also knows Him as the only God, the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending. Neither is the mention of the wrath of God below the Christian level, for the New Testament also knows of God's wrath, the punishing energy of His holiness. Fear of the wrath of God in itself, however, dare never be the motivation of moral conduct, but it will be a secondary, subordinate motive so long as man is not free from the old nature. And Luther has made of it such a subordinate motive, for he mentions it only after having spoken ten times of the respect (*Ehrfurcht*) that grows out of love, as the motive, and he does not close his explanation without emphasizing in this connection also the love and the trust which prompt us to obey His commandments "gladly."

The interpretation of the First Chief Part presented here by no means receives general recognition. According to many catechetes the Decalogue in Luther's Catechism does not offer the Evangelical, New Testament Ethics, but is merely a vestibule of Christian life. Assertions of this kind are made from various viewpoints. K. Thieme (*Theologisches Literaturblatt,* 1898, 39; *Neues Saechsiches Kirchenblatt,* 1917, 3 and 13) defended the thesis that Luther's explanation follows the first *usus legis* and that his concern is to lead only to the outward fulfillment of the Commandments. Thieme even went so far as to illustrate Luther's intention with the proverb, *"Den Narren muss man mit dem Kolben lausen"* (You must use a club to fleece a fool). If this view is correct, Luther can hardly have known any other motivation for the keeping of the law than fear of punishment. Then Luther's explanation of the Decalogue is indeed of little value and scarcely suited for the instruction of Christian children. However, Thieme was obliged to admit that Luther goes beyond this position in the explanation of the First Commandment, which admission overthrows the entire thesis for everyone who, like Luther, finds the First Commandment in all the rest.— G. von Zezschwitz approached the question from another angle. Following Stier (*Luthers Katechismus,* p. 11) and Kalcher (*Geist des lutherischen Katechismus,* p. 16 ff.) von Zezschwitz with much spirit insisted that the first three Chief Parts were arranged according to the plan of Sacred History: The superscription of the first should be "Moses," of the second "Christ," of the third "The Holy Ghost." Thus the description of the Christian life in catechetical instruction must be based upon the Lord's Prayer, while the Decalogue belongs to the *Propaedeutik des Glaubens* and loses its significance when faith has been achieved. The Decalogue is to be employed only as a παιδαγωγὸς εἰς χριδτόν, and as a mirror in which the indivdual beholds his sin (*Katechetik* II, 1, 269, 270, 376, 464). "No instructor should try to make the law of Moses, at the very beginning of instruction, a means of teaching true virtue. Perhaps this is the most widespread error in catechetical instruction. It is so easy to catechize upon the Ten Commandments— so much easier than upon the other parts. But whoever has grasped Luther's purpose, must regard it as his highest duty and as his chief task to arouse by means of the law a sense of sin and to intensify it step by step until the soul is taught to cry out for a Redeemer." (*Luther's Kleiner Katechismus, seine Bedeutung und seine Urgestalt,* 1881, p. 29). But is the Decalogue only a suburb of Christianity? In defence of his thesis Zezschwitz expressed many an excellent idea, but his clever and fanciful elaborations ran afoul of the artless simplicity

of Luther's explanation. From the Catechism itself and from the catechetical writings of Luther which preceded it he was unable to adduce proof of his interpretation. His reference to the Short Form of 1520 does not hold water (Weimar, VII, 204; compare above p. 9), for the "sicknesss" alluded to there is not the sin the individual has committed, but his moral impotence which renders it impossible for him to keep the Commandments. The sooner the notion that the Decalogue in Luther's Catechism is only a vestibule of Christianity is abandoned, the easier it will be to refute the charge that it is unsuited for the instruction of children.—It was therefore a significant step in the right direction when Steinmeyer (*Der Dekalog als katechetischer Lehrstoff*, 1875) emphasized that Luther's explanation of the Decalogue must be understood in the sense of the third *usus legis*. The Decalogue, so Steinmeyer insisted, expresses for all time what is God's will and provides us with a rule and guide for the Christian life; it is thus admirably adapted for the instruction of Christian children. Steinmeyer found many followers, and it may be said that though the view of Zezschwitz is still often to be found in catechetical practice, it may yet be regarded as overcome in catechetical theory.

Steinmeyer's followers again are divided into two groups. Both regard the Decalogue as the norm of the true Christian life. They differ, however, in this, that the one group look upon the Decalogue as the first part of a systematic whole, whereas the other reject any systematization of the Chief Parts. Steinmeyer himself took the first course, for he thought the Decalogue demanded the complete fulfillment of the divine commands, while the Credo enabled one "to recognize the power" which makes the fulfillment possible. Others followed him; among them O. Albrecht (Weimar 30, 1, p. 446. 638; *Luth. Katechismen*, p. 40) and Ph. Bachmann. The latter thought that the Decalogue shows the Christian's moral task, the Creed the source of power, and that the Lord's Prayer speaks of how this power may be derived from its source (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 1915, p. 367 ff.). In his book which has just appeared, *Luthers Kleiner Katechismus als Aufgabe fuer die Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1929), Bachmann says: "In the first Chief Part I remind myself of the state of grace which I must realize by obedience; in the second I acknowledge it as one which God bestows upon me; in the third as one which God grants to me ever anew" (p. 46). J. Meyer wrote in a similar vein (*Grundriss der praktischen Theologie*, 1923, p. 62): "The holy will of God (First Chief Part) cannot be fulfilled by our strength, but by the strength which the Triune God gives (Second Chief Part), and which is acquired through prayer (Third

Chief Part)." The second course is pursued by Gottschick (*Luther als Katechet,* 1883, p. 35, 36; *Homiletik und Katechetik,* 1908, p. 146; *Zeitsch. f. Theol. u. Kirche,* 1892, p. 185); Knocke (*Katechismusunterricht,* 1886, p. 15); Reischle, Achelis, Doerries, etc. They reject all attempts at systematization and insist that all of Christian truth is contained in each Chief Part, but presented from a different viewpoint in each instance (comp. above p. 151). In the first Chief Part it appears as moral duty and as an ideal.—Johann Meyer strikes out upon a path which in some respects is original in his *Historischer Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismus,* which has just appeared (Guetersloh, 1929). It is based upon and summarizes a number of his previous publications. In this work of thorough scholarship Meyer strongly questions the propriety of applying the terminology of the Formula of Concord concerning the three uses of the law to the question at issue, for Luther was not familiar with it in this definite formulation. "A comparison of Luther's *duplex usus legis* with the *triplex usus legis* of the Formula of Concord reveals the following differences: 1. The *usus primus* of the Formula of Concord has reference only to the *mali;* Luther has in mind all those who need the *coercere delicta,* especially children. The Formula of Concord applies the *secundus usus* principally to the awakening of a sense of guilt and of the desire for forgiveness; Luther applies it also to the awakening of the sense of helplessness and the desire for strength. The *tertius usus* is developed by the Formula of Concord out of statements of Luther on the continuing *officium* of the law in the life of the *justi.* This idea, however, is combined in the Formula with a line of thought to which Luther gave expression only after 1530, namely, that the Decalogue also serves as gospel" (p. 163). Thus for Meyer also the Decalogue in the Catechism is to be considered as the expression of the complete will of God and thus as the final norm of life (p. 167). But, according to him, Luther's explanation has more to do with the first than with the second *usus legis.* "This were strange if as in the Formula of Concord the first *usus* were only for barbarians and wicked people; but for Luther the first *usus* indeed refers to children also" (p. 169).

This whole problem cannot be solved unless we are clear in our minds concerning the idea of "fear" in the First Commandment. If it is identical with the fear of punishment *(timor poenae)* of the Conclusion of the Commandments, then the socalled third *usus legis* is out of the question, for the latter deals with the meaning of the law for the regenerate man who keeps the law not from fear but because he is impelled by gratitude and love. We thus have to do here with the *timor*

*filialis* or the sense of awe which finds God too great, too glorious, and too dear to grieve or provoke Him by disobedience. O. Albrecht, A. Hardeland, and John Meyer particularly distinguished themselves during the last two decades by their elucidations of the idea of fear in the First Commandment: O. Albrecht in Weimar 30, 1, 1910; A. Hardeland, *Luthers Katechismusgedanken in ihrer Entwickelung bis zum Jahr 1529,* 1913; Joh. Meyer, *Fuerchten, lieben und vertrauen, eine geschichtliche Eroerterung zu Luthers Katechismus (N. Kirchl. Zeitschrift),* 1913; A. Hardeland, *Der Begriff der Gottesfurcht in L's Katechismus,* 1914; J. Meyer, *Luthers Dekalogerklaerung von 1528 unter dem Einfluss der saechsischen Kirchenvisitationen (N. Kirchl. Ztsch.)* 1914; J. Meyer, *Luthers Grosser Katechismus,* 1915; A. Hardeland, *Das erste Gebot in Luthers Kat., ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtfertigungslehre,* 1916; J. Meyer, *Das erste Gebot bei Luther (Monatsschrift fuer Pastoraltheologie)* 1917; O. Albrecht, *Streiflichter auf Luthers Kat. (Studien und Kritiken, Lutherana,* No. 3 and 4), 1917; A. Hardeland, *Luthers Erklaerung des ersten Gebots (same place),* 1919; H. M. Mueller, *Der christliche Glaube und das erste Gebot (Theol. Blaetter),* 1927; Joh. Meyer, *Historischer Kommentar zu Luthers Kl. Kat.,* 1929. Prof. Meyer called attention to the fact that the circumstances in which the Small and Large Catechisms were composed shed light upon our question. It seems that soon after the delivery in September of the second series of catechism sermons Luther conceived the idea of what later became the Large Catechism (compare above, p. 16 f). It was his intention to follow the sermons quite closely. His work, however, was interrupted by the visitation in which he was to take part. Inspired by the visitation he delivered the third series of catechism sermons. A comparison of the explanation of the First Commandment in the second series with that of the third reveals the striking fact that in the latter Luther no longer speaks only of faith, but also of fear: *Deum habere est deum timere et fidere ei.* It is thought that the explanation of this fact is to be found in Luther's experiences during the visitation, namely that he came to the conclusion that it was necessary to preach the fear of God and the fear of His punishment to those crude people. When he returned to the task of writing the Large Catechism he could not incorporate this idea under the head of the First Commandment because that section was in all probability already in type. This then would account for the difference between the explanation of the First Commandment in the Large Catechism and that of the third series of sermons. But it was possible to add this idea in the explanation of the Conclusion of the Commandments in the Large Catechism (59, 4-9). This also explains the differ-

ence between the explanation of the First Commandment in the Large and in the Small Catechism. Whereas changes in the Large Catechism were no longer possible, he had not yet begun to write the Small, in which he could not only use the word "fear" in the First Commandment but could let it run through all the rest and then define it in the Conclusion as "fear of God's wrath". I concede that Meyer's discussion in the commentary (p. 57 ff. 151-192) which has just appeared—wherein he supports his thesis with a multitude of other observations—makes this interpretation more plausible than any of his previous publications even though all doubt has not been removed.

But if it is granted for the moment that in the conception of the First Commandment in 1529 Luther did have in mind the fear of God's wrath, a number of considerations still remain. Meyer himself points out that after 1530 Luther held a new interpretation of the Decalogue according to which the latter also contains "gospel", for on June 30, 1530 he wrote to Justus Jonas from the Koburg: *Ego hic factus sum novus discipulus decalogi... et coepi judicare decalogum esse dialecticam evangelii et evangelium rhetoricam decalogi, habereque Christum omnia Mosi, sed Mosen non omnia Christi* (Enders, *Briefwechsel* 8, 48). Luther meant to say that just as in the schools dialectic preceds rhetoric and anticipates much which will find further development in rhetoric, thus the decalogue precedes the gospel and contains much *in nuce* which the gospel later presents in full. While he employs previous lines of thought *(Sermon von guten Werken* of 1520, Weimar VI, 204; Exodus Sermons of 1524-27, W. XVI, 425-429; Deuteronomy Sermons of 1529, W. XXVIII, 604 f; First Series of Catechism Sermons of 1529, W. XXX, 1, 11), he now stresses this truth much more strongly and makes of it a principle. Already in the Exodus and the Deuteronomy sermons it had been the Prologue which led him to adumbrations of this position, and it was once more the Prologue in 1530 which moved him to adopt this "new" position. In the same year he wrote in his "Glosses to the Decalogue", Exodus 20, 2: *Promissio, omnium promissionum fons et omnis religionis et sapientiae caput, Evangelium Christum promissum complectens* (W. 30, 2, 358), and again in the same year in his sketch *De iustificatione:* Pueri et infantes confirmant suo catechismo solam fidem absque operibus iustificare. . . . In decalogo dicunt. Primum praeceptum est 'Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, non erunt tibi Dii alieni, coram me'. At primum praeceptum est promissio, quod velit esse Deum. Et fidem exigit ante omnia opera, quae sequentibus praeceptis exiguntur. At fide secundum primum praeceptum habita filii Dei sumus, Remissis iam peccatis, ipsa fide iusti. Prohibetur deinde, ne aliis Diis hanc fidem

exhibeamus (Weimar Ed. 30, 2, 663 f.). In a Table Talk of 1531, he says: *Primum praeceptum est mera promissio* (W. T., 2, 328), and in another of 1533 he said in opposition to Wolfhart's Catechism for Augsburg which had made of the Prologue a special Commandment (Reu, I, 1, 451. 758): *Praeceptum faciunt ex promissione evangelii: Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus etc., quasi haec verba praeceptum essent* (W. T., 3, 109; see also A. Hardeland, *Das erste Gebot in Luthers Tischreden* (*Monatsschrift f. prakt. Theologie*) 1916). When Luther calls the First Commandment a *promissio* or *evangelium*, he always does so in view of the Prologue preceding the Commandment proper. Now we understand why he could say in one of his sermons, Jairus has called upon Jesus: 'Fulfill towards me 'Your First Commandment', or that all Three Articles are contained in the First Commandment, or that John 3:16 and all Messianic psalms are included therein (A. Hardeland, *Luther's Katechismus* in *Christentum und Wissenschaft*, 1929, p. 59). To him Christ speaks in the Prologue and says to us: I will be your God: "It is not necessary that they (the Christians) should fear and love God under the name of deliverer from Egypt; He has received another name now, namely Christ who, true God, has died for us" (Sermons on Deuteronomy of 1529, Weimar Ed. 28, 605). Besides the redemption by Christ he also mentions Baptism as the saving act effected for us (Catechetics, 324). Now if the Prologue is "gospel," it follows that the fear of God which is enjoined in the First Commandment cannot be fear of punishment, but only the fear of the regenerate who regards God as being too great and majestic and precious to displease and provoke by disobedience. Then Luther's explanation does not employ the first or the second, but the third use of the law. Of course it will be said in answer that the Prologue appears in none of the editions which Luther himself brought out. That is true. But the texts in use today have the Prologue. The fact that we have it and its insertion, dating back to the Nuernberg Sermons of 1533 and their influence, is in full harmony with Luther's position obliges us to regard the First Commandment, and thus all the rest, in a different light. Should Meyer's thesis be right that Luther had in mind the *timor poenae* when he composed the Small Catechism, the presence of the Prologue in the editions of today would nevertheless exclude this interpretation; otherwise we should be contradicting ourselves. Analogous to Luther's "new" understanding of 1530, we must regard the "fear" of the First Commandment —and thus also of the rest—as the sense of awe or respect described above. Only in the Conclusion may we speak of the *timor poenae*. But when we have thus spoken ten times of the awe which restrains

the regenerate from transgression and now just once speak of the fear of punishment, it is New Testament ethics we are teaching, for the New Testament also knows of the fear motivation, insofar as we still have the Old Adam in us, but it is something secondary and subordinate, whereas the important and primary attitude is that of childlike awe and respect and grateful love; compare the section *Die Begruendung einer doppelten Motivreihe aus dem Dualismus von Fleisch und Geist* in the fifth chapter of Koeberle's excellent *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung* that just left the press (Leipzig, 1929).

With regard to the question of systematization of the Chief Parts of the Catechism we have our choice between Steinmeyer, Bachmann, and Meyer who demand systematization, and Gottschick and his followers who reject any such idea and consider each Part as a presentation of all of the Christian Faith but in each instance from a different point of view. It must be borne in mind that, as Bachmann and Meyer gladly concede, Luther in the Small Catechism in no way even hints at a connection of the Chief Parts with one another as he does in the Short Form, in the Sermons, and in the Large Catechism. Bachmann writes (*Luthers Kl. Kat. als Aufgabe fuer die Gegenwart,* 1929, p. 47): "There is still something else which Luther gives us to understand in his Small Catechism: The law, of course in its New Testament interpretation, is the abiding norm of the Christian life and the high goal for the attainment of which it is our duty to struggle with the help of the powers of faith and prayer. I say, Luther suggests all this in his Small Catechism. *But he does not express that thought in this place.* In other catechisms of that period it is expressed emphatically, for instance by J. Bader in his *Gespraechbuechlein* of 1526 (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* XX, 273. 279), by Kaspar Graeter in his Catechesis of 1529 (XXI, 27), by Joh. Lorenz in his *Fragestuecke des christlichen Glaubens* of 1529 (XXII, 148 ff.). All give a complete structure of doctrine. Luther's simple coordination of the materials does not burden the instruction with the need of showing the manifold connections between law and faith and the Lord's Prayer; *it spares the learner and allows the instructor freedom.* For this we are thankful." While this by no means concedes the truth of Gottschick's claim, it does concede all that is important, namely that Luther's Catechism is not a system and that it may be used successfully—and that it is in harmony with its character to do so—without imposing a system upon the children. In the second place attention should be called to the fact that those who regard it as a system usually consider only the first three Chief Parts. The Fourth and the Fifth, as also the section on Confession are left out of

the picture. Meyer goes so far as to designate the Sacraments as "Appendix" (*Grundriss*, p. 62). This fact does nothing to strengthen their position. Finally in the section on Confession, which was inserted in 1531, the Decalogue is expressly termed "mirror for sin" (*Suendenspiegel*). This by no means contradicts our view of the Decalogue as the norm of Christian living, for "only that can be to the Christian a mirror for sin which is also the norm of his living" (Kaftan, p. 19), but it strongly complicates the process of systematizing. It will thus behoove the Catechete to present—following Luther's explanation with its tenfold "we should,"—the Decalogue as the norm for the life of all Christian children. In his double capacity of teacher and pastor he will indeed upon occasion use the Decalogue also as a mirror for sin; how could it be otherwise? This again precludes systematization, for as a part of a system, it can be only one thing, but never two.

It has been said that the Second Chief Part presupposes a consciousness of sin and a degree of faith that exceed the limits of the experience a child is capable of. To say this is to overlook the fact that, according to Luther's intention, it is the head of the family or the catechist who confesses himself a lost and a condemned sinner and gives utterance to his faith in forgiveness. This may be gathered from the words of the explanation of the First Article concerning the "wife and child, house and home." The words were spoken by the house father or the catechist and the children repeated them after him. These things are the expressions of the faith of adult Christianity and it is into this faith that the children should and can grow. Moreover, they who raise this objection forget that we are dealing with baptized children, and that the beginning of a consciousness of sin and faith can very well be wrought by the Spirit of God in boys and girls of school age.—It is also said that the Second Chief Part brings us to those dead dogmas that have no message for our time. But is this true? We shall answer with Ihmels: "The truth is that in his explanation, Luther takes the great facts of which the Apostles' Creed speaks—which are termed dogmas—and with consummate mastery

unites them with my life as simple realities in which I may repose complete confidence. To realize this, we need only note how he transforms the 'I believe in' into 'I believe that . . . me'" (see above p. 144). But does the idea of the creation out of nothing belong to the essentials of evangelical faith? Those who deny this forget that this doctrine presupposes that God is the absolute Lord of the world and that nothing can harm us unless it be His will; that the certitude of this is an integral part of the Christian faith, no one may deny. To object that the enumeration in the First Article, "house and home, wife and child, land and cattle, and all my goods," so often does not fit the circumstances and environment of our children, has this much for it, namely, that Luther had the rural house-father in mind. But we must not overlook that we have to do here with examples and illustrations, which are unlikely to cause an experienced teacher difficulty (see also above, p. 365). When attention is called to the fact that in the First Article the socalled second causes are ignored—in unwarranted fashion, as some say—, and that everything is derived without mediation directly from God, it should be remembered that this is also done in the Scriptures, which by no means implies a denial of the second causes, for the Scriptures in other places testify to their existence. We are dealing here with affirmations and judgments of faith, and faith, let it be remembered, is not concerned with forces and realities in their physical, mundane relationships; for it is the peculiar province of faith to seek the invisible world which lies behind these things, nor will faith be content until it has grasped in all the things of natural life, the unseen hand of God which, just through the second causes, daily and richly provides us with all the necessaries of life, protects us against all danger and guards and keeps us from all evil. And what could be more vital and necessary in this age, which with its widespread

devotion to natural science rises no higher than the physical world and has to so large extent lost its sense of appreciation of the invisible, ruling hand of God, than emphasis upon God as the *causa prima?* Luther has been accused of excessive vivacity of phrase in the words, "He daily provides me abundantly with *all* the necessaries of life, protects me from *all* danger, and preserves and guards me against *all* evil." It has even been said that these words must sound like mockery to the children of the poor. But this criticism loses sight of several considerations. "Richly" means one thing to one man and another thing to another. Being but another affirmation and judgment of faith, the word signifies nothing more than that the Christian is certain he is and will be safely kept in the arms of his God. Moreover, the emphasis here is upon God in contrast to any strength or wisdom of our own. Nor dare we forget that what is denominated "danger and harm" must not be taken in the sense of our limited human understanding, but rather must it be regarded from the higher viewpoint of God, the ruler of the world and the individual life, and must be understood in the terms of Romans 8:28.—The criticism that the explanation of the Second Article is inaccessible to the child because of its very language, merely reveals a lack of pedagogical skill. In all of German literature it has no equal in beauty and wealth of meaning. Why is not the child taught to discover its topic sentence: "I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord who has redeemed me in order that I might be His own?" This will clarify all the rest for the child. Now could any one express the Christian faith less dogmatically than this? Could any one state it more briefly, more vivaciously, more concretely, in more personal terms, or in a more childlike manner? Ihmels says: "How eloquently it reminds us that piety does not consist in the mere acceptance of all manner of statements no matter how important they may be, but

that genuine piety must needs be a personal relation to the Lord, a personal relation withal that is characterized by trust and confidence. To be sure, we must also be able to reverse the matter. Jesus Christ could not be for me that which He is, were He not both true God and true man. He could not be my Lord, nor could I fully unite myself with Him, if He were not a real human being even as I am. Neither could I call Him my Lord if He were not in essence connected with God. More still. What He is for me as my Lord, He can be only by virtue of having redeemed me from all sin and of having made me His possession. Thus am I compelled to connect my confession to Him as my Lord with my confession to redemption through Him. In this sense the Second Article is the simple expression of the assurance I have of my salvation. If I am asked to say why in spite of all sin I am sure of the salvation of my soul, I can only confess with the Second Article: I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord who has redeemed me in order that I may be His own. Thus in very truth the Second Article is the heart of the Catechism."—Exception has also been taken to the fact that Luther follows the Apostles' Creed in going directly from the birth of Jesus to His Passion, saying nothing concerning His prophetic office. In answer we need only remark that Paul does the same thing in all of his Letters. For the fact is that the work of Jesus culminates in His Passion and Death, even as they summarized His entire preceding life and ministry.—How beautifully the Third Article once more takes us into the very heart of the Christian life and into the experience of all true children of God upon earth, when it raises the eminently practical question, "How may I come to Christ, my Lord?" and answers it so simply, "Not by my own reason or strength, but by the Holy Ghost who leads me to Him through the Gospel"! For Luther here has no thought of

giving a theoretical presentation of the various steps in the "order of salvation"; he desires but to answer a very vital question: How can I in time and eternity come to Christ my Lord in whom alone I am saved? Here too the evangelical idea of faith as living trust in the divine Person and in the Redemption wrought by Him remains fully intact. Ihmels remarks: "Certainly it has a strange sound that I should have confidence because I cannot believe by my own strength. Of course this statement acquires positive signification through the words which follow: that the Holy Ghost has called me through the Gospel. But even so there is something infinitely comforting in being able to say: not by my reason and not by my strength. What a great service we should often be able to render some fellow man, if at the right moment we should remind him of this simple word from the Catechism. Perhaps he has become interested in matters pertaining to faith, but thinks he must create this faith by his own effort. Thus he strives to achieve faith and fails; he tries to believe and ends in despair. Such an one we must remind of this passage from the Catechism and ask him: Have you never learned the Third Article? Why are you surprised that you too cannot believe of your own reason or strength? Your experience is no different from that of all other people. So do not despair; rather take courage and pray God that His Spirit may also help you to believe. And whenever in the midst of so many vain attempts to believe I too become confused, then it is my duty and my privilege to repeat this word from the Catechism to myself, and I let it be for me a renewed admonition to keep still in order that God's spirit may create faith in me and bring it to consummation."

When it is asserted that the exposition of the Third Chief Part is too difficult, we must concede that owing to the length of the sentences and the wealth of ideas, the meaning is not always clear at the first glance, and that it thus makes rather high demands upon the catechist. However, if he has thor-

oughly explained the first two Chief Parts and if in cooperation with the children he analyzes Luther's sentences, the children will have no difficulty in grasping what is presented. If he insists that the children shall express in short sentences what is prayed for in each petition, he will successfully lead them, with Luther's explanation as a guide, to pray the Lord's Prayer intelligently. I refer the reader to my exposition of the Catechism where he will find such a summary as well as sentence analysis. That in Luther's explanation each petition reaches directly into life and also into the life of the child, it should not be necessary to reaffirm. Or should it be impossible to make clear to the child that its old sinful heart ever resists the Holy Spirit and desires neither faith nor a godly life, and that it should thus cry: "Thy kingdom come!", i. e., "Dear heavenly Father, let Thy Holy Spirit work within me true faith and a godly life, so that I may be in Thy kingdom both here and hereafter"? Are there not in the life of the child enough points of contact by means of which we may make them deeply conscious of the fact that they have sinned, and may we not teach them that because of it God must reject their petition for daily bread when He looks upon their sins, wherefore they must pray: Forgive us our trespasses," i. e., "Regard not our sins, for then must Thou deny our prayers, but be Thou gracious and grant in grace that which we ask"?

In the Fourth and Fifth Chief Parts Luther is charged with having given the floor to theology rather than to the simple Christian Faith. The charge is made particularly with reference to the definitions of Baptism and Holy Communion. It must not be overlooked, however, that in both these Chief Parts Luther places the emphasis upon the fruits and the blessings of the Sacraments, which is truly of the highest importance for all life. In the Fifth Part he repeats the words, "Given and shed for you", three times and had them printed in red or otherwise set them off. Now the emphasis of the

blessings would be suspended in the air as long as it would not be preceded by a clear statement concerning the nature of the Sacrament together with its scriptural foundation. Whoever does not object to the Lutheran views concerning Baptism and Holy Communion, will scarcely object to these definitions, least of all in the case of Baptism where the definition, being quite general in character, begins with the visible element and does no more than state wherein the water of Baptism differs from all other water. The question itself is most admirably suited to children; for will not a child attending a Baptism for the first time spontaneously ask: "What kind of water is it they are pouring over the baby's head? What good does it do? How is it possible for water to do such great things"? Likewise in connection with the Holy Communion. If only the catechists would be content to impress Luther's words upon the souls of the children and would stress what he stresses! More people would take joy from the fact of their Baptism and more of them would hasten to the Lord's Table.

Let us not deprive our children of the treasure we possess in Luther's Catechism; but let us use it in a manner suited to its peculiar genius. The more we do that, the more our children will thank us. Let us use it as early as the middle grades of the *Volksschule,* as Pfennigsdorf recommended again in 1925 (p. 263). In these grades it should not be used as an independent course running parallel with Biblical History; however, in many instances the truths that have been gathered from individual stories may, without doing them violence, be summed up in words of the Catechism (see Reu, Catechetics, p. 523, and Wartburg Lesson Helps, Intermediate and Junior Grades). In the upper grades and in the confirmation class (perhaps the Fourth and Fifth Parts should be reserved for the latter) it should be treated independently. After the foregoing discussion it will not be necessary to show that the treatment should be conducted in the fullest harmony with the Herbart principle:

"From perception through intuition to concept," and more important still, in accordance with the principle which the new psychology has called to mind: "Only by means of the perception and intuition of religious life can religious ideas become alive in the heart, and only thus can religious life be awakened and fostered." The catechist dare never be a mere teacher who transmits traditional knowledge to the children and accustoms them to the observance of certain forms and rites. His eye must be single to the soul, to the heart, and to the life of the pupil. He cannot awaken religious life, nor can he nourish that which has already come into being, for both of these functions belong to the Spirit of God, who determines time and hour when He will awaken faith in those who hear the Gospel (Augustana 5). The catechist is thus in error, if he fancies that he should select as his goal the awakening and the fostering of faith (see Reu, Catechetics, p. 273 ff.). But on the other hand, it is true in every case that he must accommodate himself to the peculiar nature of his pupils as well as of the materials he is presenting, in order that his work might be used by the Spirit of God as a homogeneous medium for the awakening and the fostering of faith and religious life. Hence that which is not suited to serve the Spirit of God as a homogeneous means of awakening and fostering faith, is also unfitted for Catechism instruction. But if the intuition of the religious life is a particularly outstanding means to this end, it follows that the catechist can develop nothing to a better advantage than just intuition. He will seek to effect it anew in each class period so that the atmosphere that surrounds the children is filled with it and he will be careful that there are no other more powerful influences to disturb it. How that may be done, we cannot set forth in detail here (see O. Eberhard, *Der Katechismus als paedagogisches Problem;* 1912; also Lehmensieck, *Anschaulicher Katechismusunterricht,* 1915). From my Catechetics (p. 529) it may be seen, that we share Eger's conviction (*Ev. Jugendlehre,* 2

edition, 1912) that instruction should proceed in four stages: 1. The development of a specific truth from the intuitive material. 2. Comparison; for the comparison of stories by similarity or contrast often brings out a particular truth to better advantage and enables the pupil to recognize that the truth under consideration applies in more situations than one, thus giving him a realization of its general validity; in this way it may also help to awaken and foster religious life, 3. Evaluation of the acts of God or men as these acts have appeared in the intuitive material (the importance of this stage has been strongly emphasized by Pfennigsdorf, p. 271). 4. Application to the child's own life (Pfennigsdorf, *Aufruf zur Tat,* is noteworthy, but does not fit all materials). We strive, however, still more than Eger to apply the principle of religious psychology mentioned above. That it is not our desire to revive the old way of using the Socratic method or the *Kunstkatechese* (*artistic catechization*) with its "force-questions" (*zwingende Fragen*), need scarcely be said. The idea of instruction by conversation, which is derived from Socrates, is of course to be retained. The conversation, however, must be unforced and natural, and, especially in the first stage, must make extensive use of narration.

In this way the truth contained in the idea of *Arbeitsschulen* may receive its due consideration. The foremost advocate of its use in Catechism instruction is Otto Eberhard, to whom we are indebted for a number of valuable books. Among them are the following: *Arbeitsschule, Religionsunterricht und Gemeinschaftserziehung,* 2d edition, 1921; *Der Katechismus als paedagogisches Problem,* 1923; *Wie lassen sich die modernen paedagogischen Bestrebungen fuer die evangelische Erziehung fruchtbar machen?* 1923; *Arbeitsschulmaessiger Religionsunterricht,* 1924; *Lebendiger Religionsunterricht,* 1925; *Schule, Religion und Leben,* 1926; *Religionsunterricht in der Arbeitsschule,* 1927; *Evangelische Lebenskunde auf*

*wertpaedagogischer Grundlage,* 1928. Good use may also be made in this connection of some of the suggestions given by *H. Seim* in *Evangelisches Gemeindeleben* 1927, wherein the author, evincing much loving interest in his subject, details a course of rural confirmation instruction, and to still better advantage the fruitful hints and practical suggestions to be found in *Georg Traue's, Der Katechismusunterricht im Lichte der Heimat,* 1928. As to the question whether the *Arbeitsschule* or the *Lernschule* shall be given the preference, we believe that the latter dare never be crowded out by the former. In this matter we are in agreement with so experienced an educator as Johannes Kolbe, who said in his noteworthy book *Mein Konfirmandenunterricht in katechetischen Entwuerfen* (Freystadt 1926): "As I see it, the right thing would be to combine the two methods." In another place Kolbe remarks: "I am indeed old fashioned enough to find it desirable to have verses, hymns, and the Catechism text learned in the *Arbeitsschule* just as in the *Lernschule;* what the child learns in this way will prove a treasure in all its later life". The idea of the *Arbeitsschule* becomes false the moment it beclouds the great truth that in catechetical instruction as well as in all religious training, G o d must stand in the foreground, and that the catechist must ever remain the revealer of the heart and nature of God as He has revealed Himself in Christ, for God alone can produce and nourish religious life. We have to do here with the very foundations of religion. We cannot find God unless He first gives Himself to us. We cannot see Him unless He appears before us and by grace through His self-revelation grants us spiritual eyesight. We cannot grasp Him and be blessed in communion with Him unless He creates and gives us the hand of faith. The catechist has both the sacred privilege and the tremendous responsibility of revealing to the children the God who has revealed Himself to us and whose revelation the catechist himself has accepted and experienced

in his own heart and life. It is his lofty prerogative and high duty to lift the veil from the face of God so that the children may see Him and little by little learn to know His will. If he does this well, and if, after the manner of Jesus (John 17:6) and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (John 16:14), he magnifies God before the eyes of the children, then may we hope that they will give themselves to Him with all their heart and that they will begin even in childhood to do His will "gladly". Then will a relationship of filial trust spring up that will not be offended when it fails to understand this or that concerning the divine nature and will. What they already see and understand is great enough to fill their souls and it makes them eager in the ensuing days and years to learn to understand Him better and to become more completely united with Him.

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Catechismus minor.

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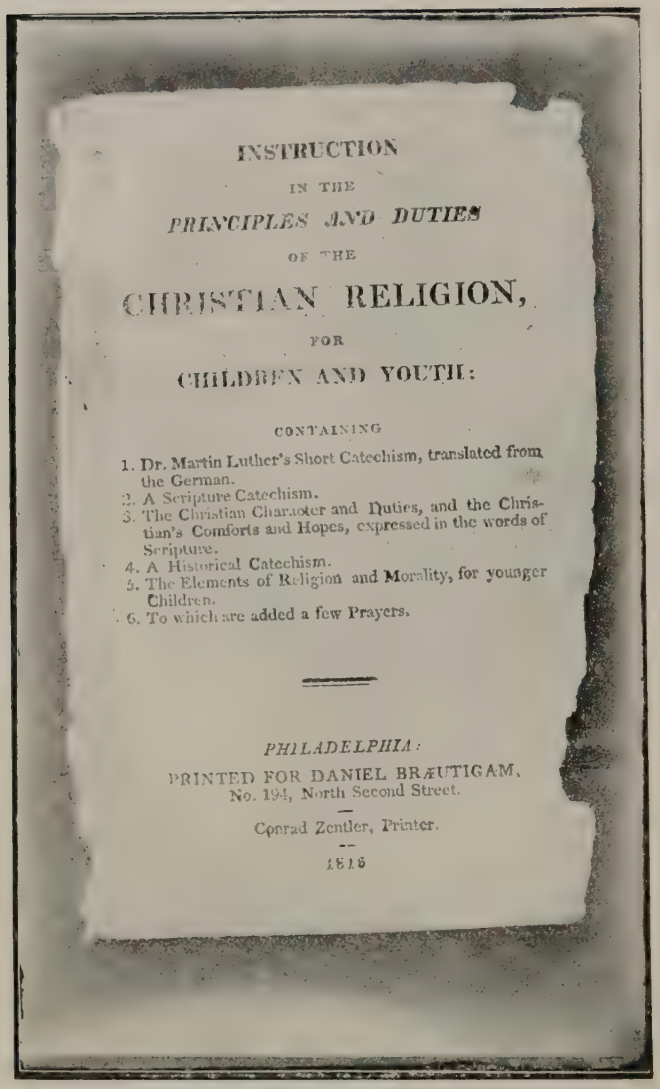
1730.

PLATE SIXTEEN: Title page of the second Tamil edition, Tranquebar, India, 1730



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## BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX


Abbetmeyer 314
Ackermann 247, 254, 256
Achelis 379
Adam 257
Adde, G. 54, 118 f
Aepin 41
Agricola, J. 12, 15
Agricola, M. 117 f
Ahlfeld 257, 312
Alardus, F. 127 ff
Alba 126
Alberti 234
Albrecht, Duke of Prussia 56, 104 f
Albrecht, (Missionary) 338
Albrecht, O. 17 ff, 34, 45, 51 ff, 257, 356, 378, 380
Alcuin 10, 153
Alexander, Duke of Parma 130
Altenberger, B. 99
Althamer 15
Amelung 379
Anabaptists 149
Andreae, E. 191
Andreae, J. V. 180, 196, 279
Andreae, L. 113
Angerstein 298
Antonius 111
Anton of Dalmatia 92
Aquila, C. 40, 42
Aquinas, Thom. 2
Arndt 256
Arndt, J. 174, 177, 179 f, 186, 204
Arnswald, A. von 247
Auffahrt 354
Augustine 14, 138
Aumann 62, 178
Aurifaber 26

Babst, V. 37
Bachmann 255
Bachmann, Ph. 370, 378, 383
Bacmeister 88
Bader, J. 383
Bahlmann 20
Bahrdt, C. F. 228, 230 f, 239
Bakker de, J. 126
Balhorn 116
Balle 207, 304
Balslev, C. F. 304, 318 f, 325, 334
Baltik 297 f, 313
Baltzly 312
Bang, A. 49, 115, 116, 303
Bang, Ch. 206, 303
Bang, K. S. 206
Bang, Nina 304
Bang, S. 350, 353, 356, 357
Barbarossa, C. 176
Basedow, J. B. 228, 230
Bauer, C. F. 89
Baumgarten 166
Baumgarten, O. 355
Baumgarten, S. J. 225
Baumgärtel 240
Beatus, Rhenanus 8
Beck 254
Beck von 363
Becon 125
Belfour, E. 224, 317
Benkner 101
Benner, A. 280
Bergmann, F. 119
Bergroth 118

Bertelsmann 306
Berthold of Ratisbon 1
Besch 257
Beyer, A. S. 303
Beyschlag 359
Bezzel 357
Bielinski 312
Biro, M. 96, 98
Bischoff 62 f, 82, 179
Blum 326
Bodemann 257
Boeckh, Ch. F. von 255 f, 306
Boeckh-Burger 256
Boehm 277
Boehmer 135
Boejthe, St. 98
Boethius 62
Bognar 297, 313
Bohemian Brethren 10, 114
Boldius, Seb. 100
Bomelius 126
Bomhard 247
Bongarzone 315
Bonus 347
Borchgrevink 303
Bornemann, A. 264
Bornemann, H. 206
Bornemisza 97
Bosch 275
Bradfordt 275
Braeutigam 284
Bracker H. de 131
Brandt 247 f
Bratke 186
Braunschweig 233, 235
Brenz 15, 43, 61, 91, 92, 103, 125, 127, 134 ff, 142, 255
Bres, G. de 126
Brethren of the Common Life 3
Brieger 255, 262 f, 269, 271
Briesmann 106
Brobst-Diehl 280
Brochmand 205 f
Brun 318
Brunn 107
Brunnholtz 277, 283
Brusch 94
Buchrucker 255 f, 299
Buchwald 18 f, 21, 257, 363, 369
Budey 103
Buerckstuemmer 345
Bugenhagen 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 26 f, 41, 46, 88, 107, 110 f, 139
Bullinger 125
Burger 256
Burckhardt 4
Burton 124
Buscher 175
Buskirk J. van 275
Butzer 44, 66, 103, 125, 132, 134
Bydell 122
Byskov 304

Calinich 34
Calixt 186
Calov, 192
Calvin 125 ff, 132, 135 ff
Camerarius 171 f
Campanius 276
Canisius 87
Capito 15
Carakdoli 136
Caspari, H. 255 ff, 282, 299
Caspari, W. 345
Cederberg 117 f
Celichius 62, 179
Charles, Grand Duke of Inner Austria 90
Charles II of Austria 90
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor 125 f, 128

Chemnitz 129
Christian II of Denmark 106
Christian III of Denmark 107, 111 f
Christian IV of Denmark 206
Chrysostom 14
Chytraeus 87, 90, 171, 175
Cist 279
Clajus 53, 94, 171
Cobrda 297, 313
Cohrs 15, 29, 31
Colet 3
Comenius 189
Coppius 176
Cordatus 96
Corneliussen 303
Coverdale 121 f
Cramer, A. 190 f, 196
Cramer, J. A. 234, 248
Cranmer, Archbishop 120 f, 123 ff
Cranmer, Th. 279, 288
Cronenwett 316
Crueger 255, 268, 271
Crumwell 120
Curione 136
Cyprian 145

Daechsel 255
Daehlin 335
Dahl 327
Dahlberg 116
Dallmann 314
Daniel 252 ff
Danish Missions 329-334
Dannhauer 182, 185
Daub 240
Daubmann 55
Davidis 100 f
Decken, L. von der 369
Dederich 20
Devai 96, 98
Dibelius 364
Dieckhoff 207
Diesterweg 257 ff
Dietrich, C. 175, 207, 261, 282, 285, 287, 316
Dietrich, J. K. 313
Dietrich, V. 61, 91
Dinter 239 ff, 267 f
Dittes 341, 358
Doerpfeld 344 f, 350 f, 353, 358
Doerries 262, 264, 345, 356, 379
Dolz 240
Dresser 171
Drewelow 316
Drewes 314
Dryander 125
Dybwad 303

Eberhard 357, 360, 391 f
Eckard 240
Eckert 345
Edmund of Canterbury 2
Edward VI of England 123, 125
Egede 309
Eger 357, 391 f
Ehrenfeuchter 257
Eichbaum 279
Eickmann 312
Eielsen 317
Einar 112
Einarsen 112
Eisenach Conference 36
Eleutherobius 88
Ellefsen 303
Engstroem 301 f
Enthusiasts 15
Erasmus 119
Erck 256
Erich, Duke of Brunswick 128

Erici 118 f
Ernest the Pious, Duke of Gotha, 189
Ernesti 257
Ernst, A. 257
Ernst, O. 341
Essen, J. von 126
Euler 256 f
Evenius 189

Faber Stapulensis 132
Fabricius 170
Fagius 125
Falckner, J. 275
Farel 132
Fehner 314
Feldner 255
Ferdinand I 87, 89, 96
Ferdinand II 90
Ferguson 279
Finnish, Missions 329, 333 ff
Fischer, A. 131, 275
Fischer, Fr. 176
Fjeldstad 318
Flacius 128
Fleischer 100
Fliedner 308
Florinus 119
Foerstemann 50
Foerster 255
Fossum 330
Fourth Lateran Council 2
Fox 120 ff
Francis I, King of France 132
Francke, A. H. 197 ff, 201, 239, 265, 287
Francke, E. 255
Francke, F. W. 249
Franklin 277, 283
Fransen 116
Frantz 249
Franz von Diedrichstein 95
Frederick I, King of Denmark 106 f
Frederick II, Duke of Liegnitz 253
Frederick the Great 228
Frese 111
Freylinghausen 199, 278 f, 280, 286
Fricke, Fr. 135, 257
Fricke, J. H. A. 257
Fricke, L. W. 255
Fricke, W. 258 f, 341
Friederich 62
Friedmann 314
Froeschel 10
Frommel 257

Gallus Laurentius 1, 15
Gansberg 342
Gardiner 122
Gausewitz 315
Geffken 5
Geissenhainer 285
Genzken 255
George of Brandenburg 96
Gerberding 288
Gerengel 97 f, 297
Gerhard 179 f
Gerlicius 88
Gerson 1, 3, 20
Gesenius (Dictionary) 38
Gesenius J. 182, 185 ff, 196, 202, 206, 214, 261, 265, 282
Gevaerts 131
Glassius 190, 217
Gleerup 301
Glogau 298, 315
Goepfert 34
Goethe 343
Goetz 254
Golladay 316

Gothus, L. P. 203 ff
Gothus, P. J. 117, 202, 275
Gottschewski 255
Gottschick 264, 379, 383
Gottskalkson 112
Graeffe 232 f, 240
Graeter 15, 383
Grefthen 318
Grimsby 318
Gruber 284
Gruellich 350
Gruenberg 197
Gryphius 94
Guericke 247 f
Guido de Bres 126
Gunderson 329
Gurlitt 356
Gustavus Adolphus 202
Gustavus Vasa 113, 117
Gutknecht 37
Gyldenstiern 108
Györy 297, 313

Habermann 93
Habsburg 95
Hacker 233, 236
Hackenschmidt 306, 357
Haeckel 343
Haerter 306
Hagujaj 117
Hahn 326
Haller 99
Hamm 306
Hammerschmidt 178
Hanse 3
Hansen 303
Hanser 313
Hardeck, Duke of 94
Hardeland, A. 380, 382
Hardeland, O. 357
Harless, A. 247 f
Harless, J. 227
Harms, Cl. 245, 247
Harms, L. 257
Harnack 34, 257
Harnisch 247, 255, 267
Hartung 240
Hauser 91, 95
Hausmann 11, 18
Heblerus 100
Hecker 198, 227, 265
Heese 324
Hegendorf 10, 104
Hegenwald 80
Hegius 93
Heidenreich 95
Heinz 7
Helgason 113
Helie 109
Helt (Heltai) 97, 100 f
Hemmingsen 111, 205
Hengstenberg 247
Henkel, A. 281
Henkel, D. 281, 285
Henkel, P. 281, 285, 287
Henkel, S. 281
Hennig 339
Henry VIII 120, 122 ff
Henry of Zutphen 125
Herbart 288, 358, 390
Herbart-Ziller 270, 345 f, 350
Herder 233, 235, 249
Herrmann 38
Herzog 177
Hess 102
Heuppel 185
Heyer 332
Hirsch, C. 164, 180
Hirsch, L. 102
Hjoring 206
Hoen 126
Hoermann 338

Hofmann 266
Hoffmann 308
Holmquist 115 ff
Hondebeke 125
Honter 99 f, 102
Horawitz 94
Horine 289, 312, 335
Horn 282, 312
Horn, C. 125
Huberinus 62, 112
Huchthausen 314
Huebner, H. 257, 294, 369
Huebner, J. 265
Huebner, Missionary 326
Hugo, Prince of Schoenburg 252
Humanists 10
Hunnius, Aeg. 176
Hunnius, Nic. 206
Hutherus 54

Ihmels 55, 364, 366, 369, 371, 375, 384, 386, 388
Irmischer 249, 256, 282

Jacobi 171
Jacobi, L. 62
Jacobs 22, 151, 286, 287
James 347
Jandeck 54
Janosi 313
Janssen 3
Jaspis 249, 266, 270
Jensen, J. 108
Jensen, O. 303
Jesse 314
Joachim, Prince of Anhalt 253
Joerger 88
Johann Frederick, Elector of Saxony 132
Johann Von Essen 126
Johnson 327
Jonas, Justus 12, 52, 59, 112, 124, 250, 381
Judex 44, 92, 119, 129, 131, 160, 202 f
Jugge 123
Jungmann 94
Just 345, 350, 253, 356
Juusten 118

Kaarstad 303
Kabisch 345, 347
Kaehler 249, 256
Kaftan 257, 264, 288, 335, 356, 384
Kahle 269 f
Kaiser 369
Kalcher 255, 377
Kant 240, 343
Karg 40, 62 f, 163, 165
Karlstadt 106
Katzer 350, 352
Kehr 358
Kell 253
Keller, G. Duke 105; misprint for Kettler, 105
Kettler 105
Kilian 37
Klaar 297, 313
Klamroth 326
Klaveness 303
Klinkenberg 305
Knipstro 42
Knoke 33, 37, 49, 50, 52, 257, 345, 379
Knopken 106
Koch 283
Koeberle 383
Koehler 136
Koenig 257
Koerber 299
Kolbe 255, 393
Kolde 255

Koons 287
Kopf 279
Kramer 322
Kramm 255
Krasinski 103
Kraussold 267
Krenzheim 62
Kretzmann 288
Krohn 347
Kromayer 189
Kropatschek 362
Krotel 282, 287, 312
Krueger 315
Kunowski 240
Kunze 281, 283 f
Kurnitz 98
Kurtz 281

Laache 303, 318
Lachmann 15
Laelius 178, 212
Laible 371
Lambert of Avignon 133 f
Lange 44
Langemack 112
Lanzkranna 1
Lasco 103, 125
Latimer 120
Laudismann 54, 134
Laurelius 203 f
Lehmensieck 391
Lehmus 247
Leibnitz 180
Lessing 343
Liegnitz, Frederick II Duke of 253
Lietz 354
Ligarius 128, 131, 275
Lindblom 204, 282
Lindemann 288, 314
Lindner 248
Lindskok 302
Lindstroem 302
Lochmann 286
Lodberg 206
Loehe 247 ff, 252 f, 255 ff, 262, 266, 282, 312
Loener 62 f, 70
Loesche 89 f, 94, 96
Loescher 265
Loesecke 199 f
Lokensgaard 318
Lonicerus 120
Lorenz 383
Lossius 41, 171 f
Lotther 37
Loy 316
Ludolf of Goettingen 1
Ludwig 279, 281, 285 f
Ludwig II, King of Hungary 96
Lueben 258 f
Luehrs 256, 282, 324
Luepke von 369
Luetkemann 261
Luetkens 206
Lufft 44
Luft 227
Lund 318
Lunde 303
Lundstroem 54, 115 ff
Lutz 134
Lyche 303
Lynne 123 f

Magdeburg 52 f, 60
Majba 297, 313
Major 46, 48 f, 51
Maletius 56, 104
Mann 282, 287, 312
Mannel 92
Marbach 44, 62, 64, 66, 130, 307
Margaret of Navarre 132

Maria, Queen of Hungary 96
Marshall 120, 122, 125
Martyr 125
Mathes 345, 356
Mathesius 93
Mattes 125, 288
Matthiae 204
Matthias of Strengnaes 113
Maukisch 191, 197
Maximilian II 87 f, 90
May 285
Mayer, F. L. 237
Mayer, P. F. 284 ff
Mechler 62
Meder 178
Mees 288
Meibohm 314
Meier, J. A. 263
Melanchthon 15, 29, 31, 41, 51, 64, 92, 102 f, 123, 132, 152
Melisander 42
Meltzer 352 ff
Menius 23, 64 f
Mentz 279
Mentz, G. 122
Metzsch 20
Meurer 119
Meyer, A. 307, 327
Meyer, E. 303
Meyer, J. 18, 368, 370, 378 ff
Mezger 314
Miller, C. 287
Miller, J. P. 240 f
Minkner 324
Moe 304
Moebius 358
Moellman 117
Moenckeberg 21, 257
Moerlin 62, 70, 91, 178
Molnar 297
Morata 136
Moravians 309 f, 319 f, 323 ff, 333, 338
Morris 285, 287
Mosvidius 105
Motschild 55
Moufang 20
Muehlenberg, H. M. 275 f, 278, 283
Muehlenberg, H. E. 284
Mueller, A. 364
Mueller, H. 283
Mueller, H. W. 380
Mueller, T. 22
Muenchmeyer 263
Mumme 206
Munthe 206
Musaeus 62, 179, 203
Musculus 169
Mylius, J. 53
Mylius, Missionary 331

Nadasdy, Duke Thomas 96
Nauhaus 326
Neander, C. 54
Neander, M. 53
Nesselmann 255
Neubauer 201
Nicola 186
Nicolai, Ph. 112
Niebergall 345, 356, 366
Nielsen 255
Nietzsche 343
Nissen 256, 267
Nitsche 364
Norlie 317
Norlis 303
Normann 114 f
Norwegian Missions 323 f, 327 ff, 333 ff
Nuernberger Kinderlehrbuechlein 180, 205, 209, 261
Nuernberg Sermons for Children

38-44, 48, 52, 55 f, 61, 63 f, 67, 88, 95, 104 f, 112, 124, 129, 163 f, 178, 373, 382
Nuessmann 280

Ochino 125, 126
Oehler 181
Oettingen, A. von 299
Olsson 302
Opitz 62, 88
Orelli 38
Ortlepp 287, 312
Osiander, A. 39, 41, 43, 52, 61, 124
Osiander, L. 278
Ostrom 319
Otther 102
Otthmar 37
Ovingstad 119

Paleario 136
Palladius 109 ff
Palmer 249, 252, 267
Palsson 112
Parisius 234
Paul 10, 34
Paul III, Pope 136
Pauli 282
Paulsen 243
Payr 97 f
Pera 315
Perez 136
Pestalozzi 241, 244, 247
Petermann 254
Petri, A. 247
Petri, O. 113 ff, 117
Petri, L. 114 f
Pfeiffer 255
Pfennigsdorf 368, 390, 392
Pflacher 117, 203
Pfleiderer 344
Philadelphus 95
Philip II 128
Piasts 95
Pica 90
Pistorius 42
Pius V, Pope 136
Plocher 314
Pluetschau 330
Pomer 44
Pont 131, 305, 336
Pontoppidan 206, 224, 283, 285, 317 f, 324, 333, 335
Prazmowsky 103
Pritius 195
Prottengeier 316
Pruno 94, 96

Quitman 287

Radomski 56, 104
Radziwill, Count Nik. 103
Rambach 197, 201, 239, 265
Randke 178
Ranke, L. von 253
Ratichius 189
Raudte 62
Rehfeld 206
Rein 346, 350 f, 353
Reina de 129 f, 135
Reinhard 106
Reischle 379
Rendtorff 357, 359
Resen 111, 205 f
Resewitz 240
Reu, 31 f, 39 ff, 43 ff, 48, 52, 54, 61, 64, 264, 287, 316, 389 ff
Reukauf 346, 356
Reusner 118
Reyher 189
Reylaender 315
Rhau 31, 50

Rhegius 92, 103, 112, 123
Rhenanus Beatus 8
Rhode 37
Rhodomanus 176
Richards 312
Richert 349
Richolff 26
Richter 258 f
Riederer 28
Riegel 321
Rieger 255
Ristau 314
Ritschl, A. 262, 264, 345
Ritschl, O. 355
Rivius 106
Rode 125 f
Rodhe 303
Roerer 17 ff, 22 ff, 48 f
Rohden, von 264, 266, 274, 345, 350, 353, 356
Rohe 316
Roscher 364
Rosinus 42, 62, 63, 79, 88, 160, 178
Rosso 322
Rostock 206
Roth (America) 287
Roth (Zwickau) 18, 20, 48
Rubianus, H. Crot. 50
Rudbeck 203, 275
Rudelbach 248

Sachsse 37
Sacramentarians 15
Sadolin 108
Salzmann 228, 234, 241
Sam 15
Sarcerius 122, 166
Sartorius 247
Sauer 277
Sauermann, J. 50 ff, 56
Sauermann, J. (Breslau) 50
Saur, S. 279
Scarpitti 313
Schaaf 255
Schaarschmidt 269
Schadilka 104
Schaefer, E. 135
Schaefer, R. 369
Schaefer, Th. 257
Schaefer 285 f, 312
Schaff 285
Schaller 288
Scheibel 247
Scheller 257
Schian 229
Schilter 175
Schiele 348
Schiller 343
Schirlentz 25, 28, 31, 33, 36, 46
Schlegel 234
Schleiermacher 246 f
Schleydorn 283
Schlez 240
Schluesselburg 186
Schmarje 274
Schmid 240
Schmidt, J. 182 ff, 195
Schmidt, K. 358
Schmucker 284 f, 289
Schneider, J. 362
Schneider, K. 257
Schoenburg, Prince Hugo of 252
Schoeneich 298, 315
Schott 247
Schroeder 336
Schroedter 240
Schueren 269
Schuetze 255, 257, 261, 267
Schuh 316
Schultze 264
Schulze 257 ff
Schumann, Missionary 326

Schumann, V. 37
Schurmann 257
Schwan 287, 294, 305, 313, 314 f, 321 f, 332, 335, 337
Schwarz, F. H. C. 245, 247
Schwarz, K. 358
Schwarz, Missionary 338
Schweitzer 279
Scriver 204
Seeberg 257
Seebold 255
Seefeldt 265
Seeliger 255
Sehling 17
Seiler 231 f, 255, 256
Seim 393
Seiss 287
Sekluzyan 104
Selle 322
Selnecker 53
Semler 228
Siber 171
Sievers 370
Skaerkilax 117
Skretting 303
Skyte 117
Sleupner 39, 61
Socrates 240 f
Sommerlath 371
Spalatin 17
Spangenberg, C. 62, 91, 128, 179, 197
Spangenberg, J. 41, 62, 64 ff, 105, 111, 129, 171
Spanuth 345
Spear 279
Spegel 204
Spener 185. 190, 192 f, 195 ff, 199 f, 204, 222, 225, 249, 261, 282
Speratus 95
Spiera 136
Spreng 125
Stapulensis 132
Starcke 199, 278
Starhemberg 88
Staude 346, 350, 353, 356, 358
Stecker 113
Steffens 247
Steinbeck 345
Steiner 283
Steinmetz 255, 257, 357
Steinmeyer 377, 383
Stellhorn 316
Stephan of Istria 92
Stiefel 25, 35, 49, 88
Stier 377
Stiller 177
Stoeckel 97
Stoecken von 206
Stoecker 177
Stohlmann 282
Stolzhagius 95
Strauss 254
Strebeck 284. 288
Stump 287, 312, 332
Suebilius 203 f, 275 f, 282, 300
Surgant 2
Sveigger 137
Svenson, E. 117
Svenson, S. 303
Sverdrup, H. U. 303, 317 f, 324, 327, 335
Sverdrup, J. 317, 327, 335
Swebilius see Suebilius
Swedish Missions 323 f, 327-331, 333 ff
Sylvester 96
Synod of Toledo 1
Synods of Ev. Luth. Church in North America
Augustana Synod 311, 317, 322, 326, 328, 335

Buffalo Synod 316
Church of the Lutheran Brethren 317, 329, 335
Danish Church 318
Eielsen Synod 317, 319
English Synod of Missouri 286
Ev. Luth. Synod of Pennsylvania 312
Finnish Apostolic Church 319
Finnish National Church 319
General Council 280, 285 ff, 311 f, 332
General Synod 279, 281, 285 f, 311 f, 328, 332
Hauge Synod 317
Icelandic Synod 319
Iowa Synod 282, 286, 316, 338
Jehovah Conference 316
Joint Synod of Ohio 282, 285 f, 315 f, 320, 331, 337
Lutheran Free Church 317, 327, 335
Missouri Synod 282, 285, 294, 305 f, 313 ff, 319 ff, 332, 335, 337
Norwegian Luth. Church 317, 327
Norwegian Lutheran Synod 317
Norwegian Synod 317 f
New York Ministerium 312
Pennsylvania Ministerium 277 ff, 285, 332
Suomi Ev. Luth. Church 319
Slovak Synod 319
Synodical Conference 286, 315, 317, 319
Tennessee Synod 285
United Danish Church 318
United Norwegian Luth. Church 317 f, 324
United Luth. Church in America 310, 312, 328, 332, 335
United Synod South 286, 311 f
West Pennsylvania Synod 281
Wisconsin Synod 282, 315, 319
Szeberenyi 297, 313

Taddel 131
Tanner 318
Taverner 121 f
Tausen 106 f
Tertullian 145
Tetelbach 33, 62, 70, 88, 117, 162 ff, 178, 202, 205
Teutsch 99, 101 f
Theding 115
Thieme 377
Thierbach 240
Thilesius 93
Thilo 254
Thomas Aquinas 2
Thomasius 247
Thorlaksson 112
Thraendorf 274, 345 f, 250, 352 ff
Trabert 287, 312
Tranoscius 297, 313
Tranovsky 95
Traub 370
Traue 369, 393
Treffer 27
Tremellius 125
Treumann 240
Trier 234
Trotzendorf 171
Truber, F. 92
Truber, Pr. 92
Tyndale 120 f

Ungleich 101
Urseth 318

Valdes, J. de 135 f
van der Heyden 127
van Wijk 305
Vasa, Gustaf 113, 117
Velthusen 280 f
Vergerio 136 f
Vermigli 236
Viborg 111
Victorius 63
Vierthaler 241
Vischer, A. 131, 275
Vischer, Ch. 62, 179
Voelker 269
Vollmer 348
Vormbaum 180, 189, 198, 228
Vormhoff 306
Voss 126

Wachler 267
Wagner, S. 323
Wagner, V. 102
Wahlfisk 115
Wald 119
Waller 318
Walther, Ch. 44
Walther, G. 62 f
Walther, H. 46
Walther, M. 173, 188, 203, 206, 219, 261, 282, 324, 331
Wangemann 256
Warneck 257
Watts 284, 286
Waubke 369
Wechel 132
Wegelin 306
Wegner 205 f
Weinel 342
Weinrich 177
Weis 133
Weiss 255, 315
Welden 285
Weller 137
Wendel 255, 282
Wenzel II 95
Westphal 324
Wetzel 287
Weyl 281
Wigand 171
Wijk, P. van 305
Wiklund 119
Wild 19
Wilhelm, Duke of Livonia 106
Will 180
Willent 105
Willich 41, 197
Wingaard 110 f
Wojewodka 103
Wolff 254
Wolff, C. 225
Wolff, J. 2
Wolffhart 62, 382
Woltersdorff 200, 227
Womordsoen 109
Wrangel 283
Wullenkord 338
Wundt 343, 347
Wurmloch 102

Ylvisaker 318

Zahn 371
Zange 349
Zapolya 96
Zehme 331
Zeller 254
Zentler 284
Zerrenner
Zezschwitz, G. von 23, 241, 256 f, 261, 269 ff, 272, 274, 377 f
Ziegenbalg 330

Ziegenhagen 277 f, 383 f
Ziller 270, 345 f, 350
Zinzendorf 276
Zuck 299
Zutphen, Henry of 125
Zwingli 8, 125 f

## GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Abo 117 ff
Abyssinia 327 f
Acacio 322
Aden 329
Afghanistan 330
Africa 322, 339
  East Africa 325
  North Africa 327
  South Africa 316, 322, 323
  West Africa 328
Akmolinsk 336
Akron, Ohio 314
Alaska 310
Albania 309
Alexandria 328
Algiers 328
Alsace-Lorraine 305, 361
Altdorf 28
Altenburg 17, 42, 192
Alt-Stettin 134
America 132, 275 ff, 309
  Central America 319
  North America 309
  South America 320
Amora 308
Amsterdam 127, 130 f, 275
Anhalt 361
Ansbach 40, 163 ff
Antwerp 55, 65, 125-131, 305
Arabia 329
Argentine 315, 321 f
Armenia 330
Armentiers 127
Asch 95, 297
Aschersleben 169
Asia 329
  China and Japan 333, 335, 356
  Dutch Indies 336
  India 316, 328, 330, 332 f
  Indo-China 333
  Siberia 336
  Western Asia 329
Asiatic Turkey 330
Assam 332 f
Astrolabe Bay 338
Athens 309
Augsburg 37, 98, 102, 382
Australia 316, 337
Austria 87 f, 296, 309

Baden 255, 296, 361, 370
Baltic Provinces 62, 102, 104, 203
Bamberg 2, 50
Barcelona 308
Barmen 323 f, 333 f, 338
Bartfeld 97
Basel 2, 52 f, 129, 132, 329, 333 f, 337
Basuto Land 323
Bauchwitz 104
Bavaria 62, 247 f, 254 ff, 294, 361, 363, 369
Bayreuth 231
Beaucourt 307, 327
Beirut 329
Belgian Congo 329
Belgium 125, 305, 341
Beludschistan 330
Bengal 333
Bentschen 104

Bergedorf 41
Bergen 111, 303
Berlin 31, 197, 258, 278, 308 f, 320, 322 ff, 328 f, 332 ff, 338, 344, 361
Bessarabia 298
Bethel 325
Bielitz 96, 298
Bihar 332
Birbhum 333
Birnbaum 104
Bistritz 99 f, 102
Bohemia 93 f, 296
Bolivia 322
Bombay 333
Bonn 368
Borneo 336
Bozen 308, 309
Braband 127
Braetz 104
Brandenburg 61 f, 67, 169, 178 f, 255, 295
Brandenburg-Anspach 61, 63, 67, 95, 178, 212
Brazil 320
Breda 127
Breidabolster 112
Breklum 325, 331
Bremen 329, 341 ff, 361
Breslau 102
Breslau-Oels 255
Breslau Synod 294
Brest 103
British Guiana 320
Bruck 90
Bruenn 95
Brunswick 16, 21, 62, 179, 182, 186, 294 ff, 361, 363
Brunswick-Calenberg 61, 67
Brunswick-Lueneburg 67, 180
Brussels 127 f
Buchsweiler 306
Budapest 98
Budissin 176
Buenos Aires 321 f
Bulanka 336
Bulgaria 309
Burgundian Lands 125
Burma 333
Bussum 131

Cairo 328
Calenberg 189
Callao 322
Calw 181
Cambridge 120, 125
Camerun (Cameroon) 321
Canada 310
Canterbury 120 f
Cape Colony 323
Capetown 323
Caracas 320
Carinthia 89 ff
Carlisle 279
Carniola 89 ff, 95
Cassel 316
Cassubs 56
Castle Gross Skal 94
Celebes 336
Celle 173, 179, 188
Celle-Grubenhagen 188
Central America 319
Chehn 103
Chekiang 334
Chemnitz 62, 162 ff, 178
Chestnut Hill 279
Chicago 289, 315 f
Chile 322
China 333, 356
Chota Nagpur 332
Columbus 316
Comen 127

Conde Plateau 325
Congo 329
Constantinople 137, 309
Copenhagen, 106, 110 f, 206, 304
Corbach 369
Courland 105
Cuba 319
Cupferberg 50
Czechoslovakia 296

Dalmatia 92
Danube 98
Danzig 102, 191, 197, 233
Dar-es-Salaam 325 f
Debreczin 99
Dekkan 333
Delaware 276
Delaware Indians 276
Delft 125 f
Denmark 106 ff, 132, 205, 206 f, 304, 325, 334
Deva 96, 98
Dinajpur 332
Djaggaland 326
Doornik 127
Dorpat 102
Dort 127
Dortrecht 125
Drenthe 125
Dresden 177, 197, 282, 331, 361, 363, 370
Dresden Kreuzkatechismus 255, 261, 282
Dubro 4
Dueben 4
Duesseldorf 347
Dutch Guiana 320
Dutch Indies 336

East Africa 325
East Cape Colony 323 f
East Flanders 127
East Prussia 255
Eger 93 f
Egypt 328
Eisenach 36, 257, 348
Eisenach Conference 363, 369
Eisleben 26, 63, 113, 176 f
Elsnig 4
Emden 104, 126 f
England 2, 9, 52, 61, 119 ff, 126, 133, 225, 305, 341
Eperies 97
Erdmannsdorf 263
Erdoed 97
Erfurt 10, 24, 26, 27, 34 ff, 44, 62, 63, 349
Eritrea 327
Erlangen 266
Eskimo 309
Espirito Santo 321
Esthonia 106, 298, 326
Eupen 305
Europe 294, 296

Falkenau 93
Fayal 308
Ferrara 136
Fianarantsoa 327
Finke River 338
Finland 113, 119 f, 203, 299
Finschhafen 338
Flanders 127
Flensburg 197
Florence 308
France 2, 9, 126, 132, 133 f, 141, 225, 305 ff, 308, 328, 341
Frankfurt on the Main, 32, 44, 55, 62, 126, 129, 130-134, 192, 197.
Frankfurt on the Oder 41, 192, 202, 203
Freistadt 96, 177

French Sudan 329
Freudenthal 95
Friesland 125
Fuchshain 4
Fuenen 108

Galicia 298
Galla 327 f
Ganges River 332
Geldern 125
Geneva 132, 135, 308
Genoa 308
German East Africa 325 f
German Southwest Africa 323
Germantown 277, 279, 340
Germany 2, 9, 46, 52, 61, 132, 225, 278, 287, 294
  Lutheran Free Churches 294
  Lutheran Territorial Churches 294 f
  Union Churches 295 f
Ghent 127
Giessen 175, 201, 276, 282
Gluecksheim 234
Gmunden 88
Goerz 93
Goettingen 62, 67, 368
Goldingen 105
Gomlo 167
Gotha 189 f, 196 f, 265, 358
Gottleuba 165
Gouda 130
Graubuenden 230
Graz 90 f
Greater Poland 102 ff
Greece 309
Greek Church 96
Greenland 309
Greifswald 42
Greiz 360
Groningen 125
Gross-Skal
Grosswardein 99
Grubenhagen 188
Gueldenstein 95
Guetersloh 306
Guiana 320

Haarlem 130
Hackensack 275
Hagerstown, Md. 285
Hague The 125 f, 305
Haifa 329
Halle 21, 63, 167, 195, 197, 228, 252, 278, 330, Halle Reports 283.
Hamburg 21 f, 26, 35, 41 f, 46 f, 54, 176, 295, 296, 341, 361, 363
Hanau-Lichtenberg 306
Hannover 62, 178, 186, 247, 255 f, 263, 282, 286 f, 294, 323, 331
Hapsburg 95
Hawaii 338
Heidelberg 245
Heidelberg Catechism 82, 127, 137
Heinrichsstadt 63, 178
Helfenstein 95
Helmstaedt 280
Helsingfors 116, 119
Heltau 100
Heresford 121
Herford 197, 255, 261, 282
Hersbruck 326
Hermannsburg 323 f, 328, 330 f, 337 f
Hermannstadt 99 f, 102
Hertogenbosch 127
Hesse-Cassel 295
Hesse-Darmstadt 296
Hessia (Hesse) 62, 256, 296, 361
Hildesheim 187, 334
Hohenlohe 67, 78

Holar 112
Holland 127, 304, 336
Holstein 276
Holzdorf 4
Hongkong 334
Honolulu 338
Hope Valley 338
Hudson 276, 287
Hunan 334, 335
Hungary 96, 297
Huon Gulf 339
Hupeh 334 f

Iceland 52, 62, 106, 112, 304
Iglau 95
India 316, 328, 330, 332 f
Indians 276, 310, 319
Indo-China 333
Inner Austria 89 f, 137
Insterburg 104
Iramba 326
Irkutsk 336
Ischl 89
Isle of Pines 319
Istria 92
Italy 135, 137, 308, 327, 341

Jaegerndorf 95
Jaffa 329
Japan 333, 335
Jauer 81
Java 336
Jena 62, 180, 354
Jerusalem 329
Jeypur 331
Joachimsthal 77, 93, 266
Johannesburg 323
Judenburg 90
Jugoslavia 313

Kaaden 93
Kaiserswerth 328, 330
Kalahandy 331
Kambaland 326
Kaschau 97
Kassuben 56
Kaulun 334
Kayintschu 334
Kemberg 26, 44, 167
Kempten 306
Kiangsu 334
Kiautschau 334
Kiew 103
Kilimanjaro 326
Kisszeben 97
Klagenfurt 90
Klausenburg 97, 100 f
Kobe 335
Koburg 381
Koenigsberg 56, 103
Kotschin 303
Krakau 96, 102 f
Kremnitz 97
Kristiania (Christiania) 303, 331
Kronstadt 99, 101 f
Kudak 102
Kujawia 103
Kurdistan 330
Kurpfalz 67
Kwantung 333
Kweitschau 334

Labrador 309
Laibach 90, 92
Lake Juba 326
Lake Kivu 325
Lake Nyassa 325
Lake Victoria 325 f
Lancaster, Pa. 279
La Plata States 321
Lappland 119
Latvia 298

Leiden 130
Leipzig 4, 37, 52, 63, 176 f, 325 f, 331 f, 343, 359
Lemberg 102
Leutschau 97
Libau 105
Liberia 328
Liebenzell 334
Lima 322
Linz 89
Lippe-Detmold 295, 361
Liptovsky Svaety Mikulas 297
Lisbon 308
Lithuania 102 ff, 298
Little Poland 102 f
Liverpool 305
Livingstone Mts. 325
Livonia 105 f
Lochau 25
Loebau 350
Loewen 125
London 3, 88, 278, 305
Lower Austria 87 ff
Lower Hessia (Catechism) 316
Lower Hungary 99 ff
Lower Lusatia 56
Lower Saxony 69
Lublin 102 f, 298
Lucca 136
Luebeck 116, 247, 294, 361
Lueneburg 41
Lund 301, 304
Lusatia 56
Lyon 308

Madagascar 325, 327
Madras 331
Madrid 308
Madura 331
Maehrisch-Schlesien 95, 97
Magdeburg 37, 46 ff, 62 f, 166, 190
Malda 332
Malmedy 305
Malmoe 107, 109
Manchuria 334
Mansfeld 67
Marburg 24, 27, 35 ff
Marschlins 230
Maryland 285
Mecklenburg 43, 61, 67, 197, 255, 282, 296, 363
Mecklenburg Co., N. C. 280
Mecklenburg-Schwerin 295, 361
Mecklenburg-Strelitz 249, 295, 299, 361
Mediasch 99 f
Meiningen 234
Melanesia 338
Meran 308 f
Meru Range 326
Meseritz 104
Mexico 320
Middelburg 130
Milan 136
Milwaukee 315, 322
Minas Geraes 321
Minneapolis 318
Miskolcz 99
Mitau 105
Modena136
Mohacs 96
Montbeliard (Moempelgard) 134, 307
Moravia 93, 95, 296
Mosquito Reservation 320
Muckrohna 4
Muehlhausen 62
Munich 90, 342
Mylau 20
Mysore 332

Naples 136, 309

Natal 323, 324
Netherlands 29, 55, 125 ff, 131, 133, 135
Neuburg on the Danube 37
Neuendettelsau 337 f
Neukirchen 327
Neusohl 96
New Guinea 336, 338
New Market 281
New Moresnet 305
New South Wales 337 f
New Strelitz 326
New York 275, 279, 281, 283, 285
New Zealand 337
Nias 336
Nicaragua 320
Nice 308
Nicolsburg 95
Nigeria 329
North Africa 327
North America 309
North Arcot 332
North Carolina 280 f, 285
North Frisian Islands 55
North Queensland 338
Norway 106, 111 f, 205, 267, 302, 304, 324
Nowogradek 103
Nuernberg 10, 24, 32, 37 f, 50, 52, 61, 67, 93. 99, 102, 124, 137, 164, 178, 180, 227
Nuernberg Kinderlehrbuechlein see Biog. Index
Nuernberg Sermons see Biog. Index
Nusla 95

Oberladlau 4
Oberwierau 4
Oceania 337
Odense 107 f
Oedenburg 97 f
Oels 282
Ofen 96
Oldenburg 294, 362
Olmuetz 95
Omsk 336
Onoltzbach 166
Orange Free State 323
Orebro 113
Oslo 110 f, 302 ff
Oswiecim 103
Otterndorf 176
Oudenaarde 127
Oxford 31, 119, 125

Palatinate 296
Palestine 329
Papa 98
Paraguay 321
Paramaribo 320
Parana 321
Parganas 332 f
Pare Range 326
Paris 132, 307, 308, 327
Parvatipur 331
Patagonia 321
Patras 309
Pavia 136
Peking 335
Pennsylvania 277 f, 281
Pennsylvania Ministerium 277 ff, 280, 285, 332
Pera 309
Persia 329
Peru 322
Petrikau 103
Petrograd 299
Pfalz-Neuburg 67
Pfalz-Zweibruecken 67
Philadelphia 8, 277 f, 283 f, 288
Pikado 320

Pirna 165, 167
Pittsburgh 279
Podlachia 103
Podolia 103
Poland 52, 102, 298, 315, 356
Poltawa 102
Pomerania 42 f, 56, 67, 166, 169, 249, 255, 262, 295
Pommerellen 298
Porto 308
Porto Alegre 321
Porto Rico 319
Portugal 308
Posen 102, 104, 255, 298
Prague 94, 297
Pretoria 323
Prussia 56, 61, 63, 198, 247, 255, 259, 294 ff, 298, 361 f

Quedlinburg 112, 192, 196
Queensland 337

Ragnit 104
Red Russia 103
Regensburg 44, 62, 63, 88
Reuss 4, 294
Reuss-Greiz 361
Reuss-Schleiz-Gera 361
Reutschuk 309
Reval 106, 203
Rhenish Prussia 255
Riga 102, 106, 299
Rio 321
Rio Grande do Sul 320
Rock Island 317
Ronsen 127
Rome 308
Rostock 43, 48, 64, 66, 67, 87, 111, 115, 117, 131, 202
Rothenburg 67
Rotterdam 130
Roumania 101 f, 298
Ruanda 325
Russia 119, 299, 336
Ryssel 127

Saalfeld 40
Saarwerden 67
Saechsischer Ev. Luth. Schulverein 361, 363
Saloniki 309
Salur 331
Salzburg 90
Samogitia 103 ff
Sangir Islands 336
Sanguland 325
Santa Catharina 321
Santal 332 f
Sarvar 96
Saxony 3 f, 16, 42, 62, 88, 99, 141, 149, 155, 165, 167 f, 170, 248, 255 f, 294 ff, 353, 361 ff, 370
Saxony-Altenburg 361, 363
Saxony-Koburg-Gotha 361
Saxony-Meiningen 361
Saxony-Weimar 361 f
Scandinavia 9, 49, 52, 62, 202, 287
Schaumburg-Lippe 295, 361
Schautschufu 334
Schemnitz 97
Schleswig see Sleswick
Schmalkalden 63 f
Schoenewalde 17
Schwandorf 62
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt 361
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen 361
Schwerin (Poland) 104
Seeland 109, 205
Selburg 105
Sempte 97
Sendomir 103 f

Seubtendorf 4
Sevilla 135
Shanghai 335
Shansi 335
Shantung 335
Siam 333
Siberia 336
Silesia 81, 255, 263, 282, 295 f
Sinkiang 335
Skalholt 112
Sleswick 55
Sleswick-Holstein 41, 55, 206, 247 f, 255, 294
Slovenians 297
Smolensk 102
Smyrna 329
Sofia 309
Somaliland 327 f
Sommersdorf 237
Sao Leopoldo 321
Sao Paulo 321
South Africa 316. 322 f
South America 320
South Australia 337
South Holland 126, 128
Southern Rhodesia 323
Southwest Africa 322 f
Spain 130, 134 ff, 308
Stavanger 205
Stettin 134
Steyr 88
St. Louis 314
Stockholm 54, 94, 113, 117, 119, 134, 202, 203, 276, 301, 328
Strand 55
Strassburg 44, 50, 52, 64 ff, 102, 130, 134, 182, 185 f, 196, 305 ff
Strengnaes 113, 203
Stuttgart 370
Styria 89 f
Sudan 328
Sueptiz 4
Sumatra 336
Sunda Islands 336
Sunnytown 279 f
Surinam 320
Svanhals 117
Sweden 62, 113 ff, 133, 202 ff, 275 f, 300
Switzerland 8, 98, 102, 308, 341
Syrendorf 88
Syria 329
Szechwan 334

Talaût Islands 336
Tana River 327
Tanga 325
Tennessee 281, 285
Teschen 95
Thann 237
Theisz 98 f
Thorn 62
Thuringia 40, 42, 62 f, 189, 256, 296, 370
Tibet 333
Tientsin 335
Tilsit 104, 298, 315
Tobolsk 336
Togo 329
Tokio 335
Toledo 1
Tomsk 336
Torgau 2, 63, 167, 178
Tranquebar 330 f
Transvaal 323 f
Transylvania 96-101, 298
Travancore 332
Triest (Trieste) 93, 308, 309
Trondjhem 206
Troppau 95
Tsingtau 335

Tuebingen 92, 134, 137
Tunis 328
Turkestan 330
Turkey 309
Turnau 94

Uha 325
Ulm 65, 102, 175, 306
United States of America 275, 310, 341
  Synods of Ev. Luth. Church in U. S. see Biog. Index
Upper Austria 88
Upper Hungary 96, 98 f
Upper Lusatia 56
Upper Silesia 298
Upper Yssel 125, 127
Upsala 114, 117, 202, 276
Ursel 62
Uruguay 321
Usambara 325
Utrecht 125, 127

Vaesteraes 113, 203
Valenciennes 127
Valladolid 135
Venezuela 320
Venice 8, 136, 308
Viborg 118
Victoria 337
Vienna 87, 258, 341
Villach 91, 95
Vilna see Wilna
Virginia 281, 285
Virgin Islands 319
Vladivostock see Wladiwostock
Volga see Wolga
Volo 309
Volhynia see Wolhynia

Walachia 102
Waldeck 362
Warsaw 298
Weimar 42, 63, 178, 233
Wends 56
Werche 4
Werchnje Sujelak 336
Wesel 55, 126 f, 129
West Africa 328
West Cape Colony 323
West Flanders 127
West Friesland 127
West Himalaya 333
West Indies 319
West Prussia 255
West Siberia 336
Western Asia 329
Western Australia 337
Westeraes 203, 113
Westphalia 255, 282, 295
White Russia 103
Wiesbaden 328
Wilna 103
Winchester 122
Windhoek 323
Windsbach 247
Wittenberg 7, 10, 15 f, 19 ff, 24-29, 31-37, 44, 46, 48, 50, 53, 56, 62, 91, 98 f, 103, 113, 117 f, 132, 166
Wladiwostock 336
Woerden 126, 128 f, 131
Wolga River 102
Wolhynia 103
Worms 126
Wuerttemberg 92, 134, 180, 182, 255, 276, 278, 294 f, 362

Yssel 125

Zator 103
Zinna 4

Zips District 96 f
Zscheila 233
Zsolna 97
Zululand 323 f
Zurich 308
Zwickau 12, 18, 20, 352 f

**Corrigenda**

Page 49, line 31 read editions instead of edition.
Page 50, line 25 read Octobris instead of Octobis.
Page 56, line 30 read that language instead of that.
Page 89, line 2 read jhar instead of ghar.
Page 97, line 28 read Sempte instead of Semptc.
Page 105, line 24 read Kettler instead of Keller.
Page 124, line 11 read Office instead of Offices.
Page 267, line 21 read Wachler instead of Walcher.
Page 279, line 27 read Carlisle instead of by Carlisle.
Page 314, line 15 read Huchthausen instead of Huchhausen.
Page 377, line 29 read Χριστόν instead of χριδτόν
Page 383, line 29 read Brenz instead of Lorenz.

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